DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 362 429 SO 023 031

AUTHOR	Weeks, Edward C.; And Others
TITLE	Citizen Participation in Policy Formation: A Review of Governor Roberts' Conversation with Oregon.
INSTITUTION	Oregon Univ., Eugene. Center for Advanced Technology in Education.
REPORT NO	ISBN-8-87114-179-5
PUB DATE	92
NOTE	92p.; Funding also received from the Northwest Area Foundation.
AVAILABLE FROM	Center for Advanced Technology in Education, College of Education, Eugene, OR 97403-1215.
PUB TYPE	Reports - Research/Technical (143)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC04 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Citizen Participation; Elementary Secondary Education; Government Role; Higher Education; Interaction; Mass Instruction; Participative Decision Making; *Policy Formation; *Public Opinion; School Taxes; Social Science Research; *State Government; Surveys; *Telecommunications
IDENTIFIERS	Ed Net; *Oregon; Roberts (Barbara)

ABSTRACT

This document presents the results of a survey of Oregon voters, polling those who did and those who did not participate in a series of meetings using the state's interactive telecommunications network, Ed-Net. The meetings were part of a project in deliberative democracy called a Conversation with Oregon, launched by Governor Barbara Roberts to address a fiscal crisis in state government. Governor Roberts conducted 32 Ed-Net telecast sessions, reaching 10,000 randomly selected persistent voters in 900 local meetings throughout the state during November and early December. In the Conversation and Ed-Net meetings the Govenor discussed with voters appropriate levels of government services and how to pay for those services. The conversation and especially the Ed-Net meetings were an unprecedented effort to use modern, interactive communications technology to involve large numbers of citizens in the deliberative process of public policy meetings. This report describes the Conversation with Oregon, and documents the extent to which the Ed-Net Meetings succeeded in opening up constructive communication. The voter survey and analysis showed (1) the conversation succeeded in calling together a broad cross section of the state's most persistent voters; (2) the planning and operation of the Ed-Net meetings successfully involved many individuals and organizations in new roles; (3) the meetings significantly increased participants' grasp of basic facts about state finances; (4) persistent voters exhibited a skeptical attitude toward government and politicians that is not changed easily; and (5) though the fiscal crisis remains unresolved, the Conversation succeeded in opening a channel of communication between the governor and voters. (DK)

ED 362 429

Citizen Participation in [illegible]

A Review of Governor Roberts' Co[illegible]rsation W[illegible]

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Bruce McKinlay

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

SO 023 031

Edward C. Weeks
Margaret Hallock
James B. Lemert
Bruce McKinlay

UNIVERSITY OF OREGON
Eugene, Oregon

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Citizen Participation in Policy Formation:

A Review of Governor Roberts' Conversation with Oregon

Edward C. Weeks
Margaret Hallock
James B. Lemert
Bruce McKinlay

University of Oregon
Eugene, Oregon
1992

THE RESEARCH TEAM

This study was conducted by University of Oregon faculty experienced in research, administration, and policy making. Members worked as an informal, interdisciplinary research team.

M. D. Gall, professor, College of Education. Specialist in instructional methods, research design, and program evaluation.

Margaret Hallock, professor and director, Labor Education and Research Center. Chancellor's liaison to the Conversation with Oregon for the State System of Higher Education.

Carl Hosticka, associate professor, Department of Planning, Public Policy and Management. Associate vice-president for statewide educational services. Member of the Oregon State Legislature.

James B. Lemert, professor and director of graduate studies, School of Journalism. Author of books on mass media and public opinion and on news media performance in presidential campaigns, including pioneering work in the scholarly use of exit polls.

Bruce McKinlay, associate professor and director, Center for Advanced Technology in Education. Developer of computer-based career information systems and research on information systems in education and social services.

Edward C. Weeks, associate professor, Department of Planning, Public Policy and Management, and director, graduate program in public affairs. Research director for Eugene City Council's Eugene Decisions citizen surveys and research on social consequences of public policy.

David Edwards, Jean Nelson, Akilino Susaia, research assistants, Department of Planning, Public Policy and Management.

Funding for data collection and report publication was provided by Office of the Vice-President for Research at the University of Oregon and by the Northwest Area Foundation. Data were collected by MarStat, Incorporated.

The Center for Advanced Technology in Education provided coordination and project management.

PREFACE

This study was initiated by University of Oregon faculty members who recognized that the Conversation with Oregon provided a unique opportunity to examine two aspects of modern democracy, an expanded role for citizens in policy development and the place of interactive communications technology in strengthening public participation.

Several organizations contributed to this project. First, staff members in the governor's office assisted in obtaining random survey lists of persistent voters; beyond that technical role, they remained independent of the study. On short notice, the university's vice-president for research provided funds to initiate the pre-Conversation survey of participants. The Northwest Area Foundation followed through, on similarly short notice, with funding for the post-Conversation survey and the crucial survey of nonparticipants. Recognizing the potential audience for a report of the Oregon experience, the Northwest Area Foundation also provided funds for editing and printing this report.

The Conversation with Oregon obviously raises many questions, both political and technical, besides those addressed here. The data and other information acquired for this project are available for further research into those questions.

CONTENTS

The Research Team ii
Preface iii
Table of Contents iv
List of Tables v
List of Figures vi
Executive Summary vii
Introduction 1
Oregon's Tax Limitation (Measure 5) 1
Responding to Measure 5 1
The Conversation with Oregon 2
Ed-Net Meetings: Overview 2
Ed-Net Meetings: Facilities, Logistics, and Agenda 3
The News Environment 5
Events after the Ed-Net Meetings 6
Research Methods 8
Instrument Development 8
Survey Groups 9
Research Design 9
Data Collection and Sample Sizes 10
Results 11
Who Attended Conversation Ed-Net Meetings? 11
Demographic Characteristics 11
Attitudes toward Government and Politicians 13
Expectations of the Conversation with Oregon 14
Support for and Knowledge about Measure 5 15
How Did Participants Evaluate Ed-Net Meetings? 15
Logistical Arrangements 16
Facilitators 16
Contribution of Other Participants 17
Content of Ed-Net Meetings 17
What Approaches Would Participants Take to Measure 5? 18
Do Conversation Participants Believe the Governor Heard What They Said? 19
The Governor's State of the State Speech 20
How Did the Conversation Affect the Participants? 21
What did Participants Learn? 22
Changes in Opinions about Government and Politicians 22
Changes in Opinion about Response to Measure 5 23
Civic Activation 23
Postscript 25
Reaction to the Governor's Tax Reform 25
Reaction to the Special Legislative Session 26
Assessment of Institutional Performance 26
A Final Observation about the Conversation with Oregon 27
Observations and Conclusions 28
The Participants 28
The Ed-Net Meetings 29
Increasing Knowledge 30
Attitudes and Policy Developments 30
A Communication Channel 31
Appendices .....
Appendix A—A Conversation with Oregon (Overview) 33
Appendix B—About Ed-Net 37
Appendix C—Ed-Net Meeting Information Materials 39
Appendix D—Report Forms and Participant Questionnaires 49
Appendix E—Conversation Questionnaire Summary 53
Appendix F—Governor's State of the State Address 63
Appendix G—Telephone Interview Questionnaires 71

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1 Newspaper Articles that Describe the Conversation in Positive or Negative Terms, by Type of Article 5

Table 2 Articles in Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan Newspapers that Describe the Conversation in Positive or Negative Terms, by Type of Article 6

Table 3 Reason for Unfavorable Newspaper Judgments about the Conversation 6

Table 4 Interview Schedule for Survey Respondent Groups 10

Table 5 Demographic Characteristics of Ed-Net Meeting Participants and Nonparticipants 12

Table 6 Opinions about Government and Politicians before the Ed-Net Meetings 13

Table 7 Views before the Ed-Net Meetings about the Conversation with Oregon . 14

Table 8 Percent Who Voted for Tax Limitation (Measure 5) 15

Table 9 Knowledge before Ed-Net Meetings about the Portion of State Budget Going to Public Schools under Measure 5 (75 percent), and Use of Lottery and Highway Money to Deal with Measure 5 (No) 15

Table 10 How Respondents Would Approach Measure 5 19

Table 11 Ratings (0 to 10) of Chances the Conversation Would Lead to Greater Government Efficiency 20

Table 12 Knowledge about Percent of State Budget Going to Public Schools after Measure 5, and Use of Lottery and Highway Money to Deal with Measure 5: Before and After Conversation 21

Table 13 Changes in Respondents' Opinions about Government and Politicians 23

Table 14 Percentage of Respondents Who Engaged in Civic Activities Related to Measure 5 24

Table 15 Comments about the Special Legislative Session 25

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1 Typical Ed-Net Meeting Agenda 4

Figure 2 Participant Ratings of Ed-Net Meeting Components 16

Figure 3 Perception of Other Participants' Attitudes, Contributions, and Information 17

Figure 4 Percentage of Respondents Who Would Increase Efficiency, Reduce Services, or Restructure the Tax System 18

Figure 5 Percent Correctly Answering Question about the Proportion of State General Fund Revenue Ultimately Going to Public Schools under Measure 5 22

Figure 6 Percent Correctly Answering Question about the Availability of Lottery and Highway Funds to Balance the General Fund Budget 22

Figure 7 Changes in Opinion about Governor's Job Performance 23

Figure 8 How Consistent is Governor's Tax Plan with Respondent's Preference and with Respondent's View of Most Oregonian's Preference? 25

Figure 9 Respondent's Evaluation of the Job Performance of the Governor, Legislature, State Representative, and News Media 26

Figure 10 Ratings of Governor's Performance: All Respondents 26

Figure 11 How Likely the State Legislature Will Develop a Tax Plan Acceptable to Respondent and Acceptable to Most Oregonians 27

Figure 12 Participants and Nonparticipants Opinions about the Conversation before and after the Special Session 27

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

On November 6, 1990, Oregon voters elected Barbara Roberts as governor. At the same time, they passed a property-tax limitation measure that shifts responsibility for funding public schools from the local property tax to the state General Fund without providing new revenue.

To address the resulting fiscal crisis, Roberts launched a project in deliberative democracy, called a Conversation with Oregon. The centerpiece of the Conversation was a series of meetings that effectively used the state's interactive telecommunications network, Ed-Net. Governor Roberts conducted thirty-two Ed-Net telecast sessions, reaching 10,000 randomly selected persistent voters in 900 local meetings throughout the state during November and early December 1991. During those Ed-Net meetings she discussed with voters appropriate levels of government services and how to pay for those services.

The Conversation, and particularly the Ed-Net meetings, were an unprecedented effort to use modern, interactive communications technology to involve large numbers of citizens in the deliberative process of public policy making.

This report describes the Conversation with Oregon and documents the extent to which the Ed-Net meetings succeeded in opening up constructive communication.

OBJECTIVES OF THE ED-NET MEETINGS

The Ed-Net meetings had four objectives, which also shaped the design of this research.

1. The meetings were designed to broaden the discussion of taxes to include appropriate levels of government services. The meetings were intended to move voters beyond their complaints about taxes to thinking about the connection between taxes and government services.
2. The meetings were to inform the governor about voter's views on government services and tax reform. The governor sought advice from voters and promised to listen and respond to their opinions as she proceeded with changes in the delivery of government services and tax reform.
3. The meetings were designed to educate voters about state and local government, the Oregon tax structure, and the potential impact of Measure 5. Measure 5 and taxes are complicated topics, and there was confusion about them. The charts and other materials as well as the governor's presentation were informational in nature.
4. The Ed-Net meetings were intended to engage voters and encourage them to become active citizens on issues of public services and public finance. Ten thousand voters participated in these meetings. While this is a significant number in itself, those voters had the potential for influencing far greater numbers.

Given these objectives, scientific sampling was less important than participants' active contributions to the Conversation. The meetings were not opinion polls or focus groups—those can be carried out in more efficient ways. Instead the meetings initiated a citizen participation process. Small group discussion, for example, allowed participants to share opinions and learn from each other. These were meetings to open up communication, not just to collect opinions.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE STUDY

Surveys of voters who participated and those who did not, together with analysis by the research team, yields several important conclusions:

- **The Conversation succeeded in calling together a broad cross section of the state's most persistent voters.** Participants brought with them varied backgrounds and opinions. They differed from nonparticipants principally in their attitudes toward the Conversation—they were more hopeful it could help solve the state's problems.

- **The planning and operation of the Ed-Net meetings successfully involved many individuals and organizations in new roles.** The 10,000 people who participated liked the Ed-Net meetings they attended, and most would attend another.
- **Participants learned from the Ed-Net meeting.** The Ed-Net meetings significantly increased participants' grasp of basic facts about state finances. Participants felt more involved, and they thought people learned from each other and from the written material.
- **Persistent voters exhibited a skeptical attitude toward government and politicians, an attitude that is not changed easily.** In approaching Measure 5, they strongly favored a combination of government efficiency and tax reform. After the Ed-Net meetings and the governor's State of the State speech, persistent voters, including those who had voted for Measure 5, were more inclined than they had been to think the Conversation would lead to improved efficiency in state government.
- **Though the fiscal crisis remains unresolved, the Conversation succeeded in opening a channel of communication between the governor and voters.** There are clear signs that the governor found the participants' ideas useful, and Conversation participants said the governor understood what they were saying.

INTRODUCTION

Oregon's Tax Limitation (Measure 5)

For years Oregonians have been frustrated with their tax system. Oregon has relied heavily on two taxes—the property tax to fund local government and schools and the income tax to support state General Fund operations such as higher education and human services. Oregon does not have a sales tax. While the property-tax system has been widely condemned as inequitable, there has been no consensus on an alternate tax. Successive measures that would refinance local schools failed during the 1970s and 1980s, as did several property-tax limitation initiatives.

Finally in 1990 voters barely passed Measure 5, a constitutional amendment that reduces property-tax rates over a five-year period and requires the state to make up lost property-tax revenue for local schools. Before Measure 5, state support for local schools and community colleges absorbed about 29 percent of the state's General Fund budget. In 1991–93, the first biennium after Measure 5, the share of the General Fund going to local education increased to 37 percent. By 1995–97, after the measure is fully phased in, education costs could claim up to 75 percent of the General Fund budget unless new sources of revenue are found.

RESPONDING TO MEASURE 5

The fiscal crisis facing the state immediately became the top issue for Roberts' new administration in Salem. The governor proposed a 1991–93 biennial budget that reduced traditional state programs and services in order to deal with the first stage of the state's new obligation to public schools, and the 1991 legislature adopted those budget cuts. But the larger question remained—how to deal with the crisis over the longer term as Measure 5 took effect. What state services could be eliminated, and how could the state's tax system be changed to provide for both local schools and state services?

The attitude of voters toward replacement revenue was not encouraging. Elected officials got two messages from the vote on Measure 5—that property taxes were too high and that government needed to be more efficient. Following the passage of Measure 5, public skepticism remained high, including speculation that government would evade the spirit of the measure by increasing the assessed value of property or raising fees or other taxes.

The election that passed Measure 5 and elected Democrat Barbara Roberts governor also shifted control of the legislative House of Representatives to the Republican party for the first time in a decade. Under the state constitution, any tax measure must originate in the House of Representatives.

Moreover, the initiative and referendum process in Oregon is very strong, so it is widely understood that any tax plan ultimately would require voter approval. There is no possibility of a substantial tax reform package being enacted by the Legislature alone. The voters would have their say, and they had regularly said no to tax-reform proposals by previous governors and legislatures.

These factors—combined with the view that Measure 5 was a manifestation of continuing voter mistrust and alienation—led the governor to adopt a strategy that would include voters in early discussions via a massive, grass-roots dialogue about government service and public finance. The Conversation with Oregon was a deliberate effort to widen the discussion to include services as well as taxes, to engage voters, and to reconnect them to government.

The Conversation included interviews with community leaders, small-group discussions about state and local services with randomly selected voters, and discussion of tax options. One press release explains the governor's strategy:

> Traditionally, politicians would turn to polls and advertising to push a tax reform plan. But neither of those shopworn approaches would have helped Oregon work through its budget troubles and find a solution that works. That's why we designed the Conversation. We are giving people the information and the power to help us answer the most critical questions Oregon faces: What kind of future do we want for our state? What level of public services do we want and need? And finally, how are we going to provide for those services?
> (November 13, 1991)

The strategy was risky and controversial. Roberts was criticized for not showing leadership by coming forward with a tax solution and putting it on the ballot. She also was criticized for bypassing legislative committees and interest groups.

The Conversation with Oregon

The Conversation was conceived, not to sell a tax plan, but to gather voter opinions and to engage voters in planning for the state's future. The strategy was to involve increasing numbers of citizens through several phases of activities. (An overview of the Conversation appears in Appendix A.) The guiding assumptions were:

1. The underlying aims of the state, such as a strong economy and good quality of life, are shared by the vast majority of Oregonians.
2. Oregonians are willing to pay for public services to achieve these aims if they are convinced that the money is well spent and that taxes are equitable.
3. Oregonians want to talk about the tax structure, and they need information to make informed choices.

The Conversation took place in three phases:

June 1 to Labor Day 1991. The summer months were devoted to research, planning the project, developing the interview instruments, and writing other materials for the discussions.

September 1991 to January 1992. This phase, the heart of the Conversation, included interviews with community leaders and the Ed-Net meetings with randomly selected voters. The second phase effectively ended with the governor's State of the State speech January 23, 1992, which drew heavily from the Conversation findings.

Public Review. During the third phase a tax plan would be debated whenever it emerged. The schedule was left open to accommodate the results of the second phase. Roberts met personally with some groups of Conversation participants following her State of the State speech and before announcing her tax reform plan. As things developed, Roberts proposed a tax-reform package in June and called a special legislative session to consider it in July.

ED-NET MEETINGS: OVERVIEW

In 1989 the state initiated Ed-Net, a telecommunications network that provides live, interactive video, voice, and computer data communications to sites throughout the state. (Appendix B contains a brief description of Ed-Net.) The new capacity of Ed-Net made the conversation with voters possible, and the Conversation provided a highly visible introduction of Ed-Net to the state

Governor Roberts wanted to have a conversation, not with advocacy groups or just with angry and activist residents, but with a cross section of citizens who are most likely to vote. The Ed-Net Conversation meetings were designed to put the governor in touch with some of these persistent voters around the state in a series of two-hour meetings during November and early December 1991. Implementing the design cast the governor, staff members, volunteers, and participants in new roles.

There were several key features of the project:

- Working with county elections departments, the Conversation staff drew a sample of persistent voters. Invitations were mailed to more than 80,000 voters who had voted in the previous three primary and general elections. Those written invitations were followed up by telephone. Scheduling was done at a central location.

- Communications relied on the state's new educational network, Ed-Net. Ed-Net's Network I, which was used for the Conversation, provides live, interactive one-way video and two-way audio to satellite down-link sites throughout the state.
- The governor conducted thirty-two Ed-Net sessions with an average of thirty sites involved in each session. Thus there were roughly 900 small-group meetings, involving a total of 10,000 voters. Ninety sites were used at one time or another. There were between four and thirty invited participants at each meeting.
- The Ed-Net sessions originated from the broadcast studios of Oregon Public Broadcasting in Portland. Each local site received video of the governor, and every site had a two-way audio connection so that anyone speaking to the governor could be heard by all participants.
- Trained volunteers conducted the local meetings. To enlist volunteer interviewers, facilitators, and coordinators, the Governor conducted six kick-off meetings around the state. The response was overwhelming. More than 3,000 people volunteered at those meetings and another 2,000 volunteered by mail. Some volunteers were assigned to conduct one-on-one interviews with community leaders, and others were selected to assist with the Ed-Net meetings. Both groups were trained for their roles and taught to use their materials. The training was conducted using Ed-Net. For each local Ed-Net meeting, two volunteers registered and collected questionnaires from participants, and two facilitated the meeting.

Each two-hour meeting included presentations by the governor, small-group discussions at the site, and reports to the governor from selected sites.

Participants filled out questionnaires about their views on public services, their approaches to tax reform, and their evaluations of the meeting. Participants retained the informational material on the tax system and government services.

ED-NET MEETINGS: FACILITIES, LOGISTICS, AND AGENDA

Several features of the Ed-Net meetings are important because they emphasize the goals of the Conversation and the Ed-Net meetings.

- Participants were persistent voters, people who vote regularly. In most counties, this meant that the voter list used to generate the random sample of invitees included people who had voted in the three previous primary and general elections. In some counties these voting histories were not readily available, so samples were drawn from all voters. A list of 80,000 randomly selected voters was generated, and they were sent letters inviting them to a discussion with the governor about the future of Oregon, the level of government service, and the tax system. Invitees were asked to return a postcard if they were interested in participating.
- Scheduling participants was a major challenge. People were recruited by telephone, and scheduling was coordinated at a central location, using staff members and volunteers. Follow-up was needed to ensure attendance, especially in outlying areas. Scheduling the large number of meetings and locations was time consuming, and confirmations were often slow in reaching participants and facilitators.
- The Ed-Net meetings were open to observers, but participation was reserved. The governor was seeking the involvement and advice of a cross section of persistent voters, not interest groups, so participation was reserved for the randomly selected voters who agreed to participate.
- Volunteers played crucial and well-defined roles. They worked in organizing and conducting the meetings and in eliciting information, but they were not required to present information about state finances or services or to draw conclusions in their meetings.
- The meetings were structured to open up discussion among local participants, the governor, and participants in other sites around the state. The agenda for each session was the same. It included the presentation of information by the governor, it provided opportunities for participants to discuss questions and express opinions locally, and it provided some exchange of opinions and suggestions from designated local sites to the governor and other sites. But these meetings were not designed to achieve consensus or to formulate specific policy. (Materials used in the Ed-Net meetings are included in Appendices C and D.)

Ed-Net Meeting

Following is an agenda for a typical meeting with a 7:00 P.M. broadcast time.

Introduction

6:00–6:30 Coordinators and facilitator arrive.
6:30–6:45 Participants arrive.
6:45–7:00 Seat participants and orientation.

Conversation with Oregon Meeting

7:00–7:10 Governor introduces meeting and technology. Governor asks first question: "How well is the government spending your tax dollars?"

7:10–7:25 Site discussion, led by facilitator. Facilitator identifies potential spokespersons.

7:25–7:40 Governor on air, takes comments from selected sites, responds as necessary.

7:40–8:00 Governor asks facilitator to pass out charts on Oregon's tax system. She presents information from these charts and asks Question 2: What level of government services do Oregonians want?" and Question 3: "How do we provide this level of services?"

8:00–8:30 Site discussion on desired level of service and how to pay for it.

8:30–8:55 Governor conducts discussion by calling on sites and responding as appropriate. Governor wraps up by 8:55.

Local Wrap-up, Questionnaire, and Evaluation

8:55–9:00 Facilitators wrap up at site. Participants fill out questionnaire and evaluation. Discuss the meeting as appropriate.

Facilitators write their summaries, and site coordinators mail in the attendance records, questionnaires, and evaluation forms.

FIGURE 1 *Typical Ed-Net Meeting Agenda*

Most meetings took place in evenings, late afternoons, or Saturday mornings. They were held in classrooms and conference rooms at Ed-Net down-link sites throughout the state. As participants arrived, the volunteer coordinators registered them and gave them questionnaires for later use. Where possible, participants were seated at round tables so they could see each other, the facilitators, and the television monitor that carried the governor. A telephone-like device allowed a participant at each of the thirty sites to speak to the governor and be heard by participants at all the other sites. At most sites, local staff members arranged the room, posted signs, and initiated the Ed-Net link.

Meeting facilitators explained that the purpose was to discuss with each other and the governor important issues affecting the future of Oregon. They encouraged participants to say what was on their minds, to agree or disagree, and to offer new suggestions. They reviewed the agenda and explained the technology before the governor came on the air, and they handed out informational material when called for in the agenda.

After the governor's welcome, each local group responded to the question: "How well is the government spending your tax dollars?" After hearing summaries of those reactions from a few sites, the governor explained state and local sources and uses of tax dollars, using flip-charts and handouts. (See meeting materials in Appendix C.)

After the governor concluded her presentation of information from the charts on the tax system, each participant was given a list of twenty-four representative government services such as higher education, police, and small business development. The list was presented to remind and inform voters about the diversity of services provided by state and local government in Oregon. Participants were then asked to decide whether there should be more, less, or the same level of each service. The facilitator tallied participants' most common responses, so the group would know how many in their group primarily favored more, less, or the same level of services. This tally became the vehicle for the most challenging discussions among local participants—the appropriate level of government services. Again a few designated sites briefly reported their tallies and major points from their discussions to the governor and other sites via Ed-Net.

The discussion then turned to the third key question—how to provide the desired level of service. The governor presented three alternatives for discussion:

- Provide fewer services
- Increase government efficiency
- Restructure Oregon's tax system to provide more money

These alternatives were discussed in the local groups, and some sites were called on to present summaries to the governor and the other sites during the statewide reporting period.

Following the governor's wrap-up, participants filled out questionnaires, wrote suggestions, and completed evaluations of the meeting. Facilitators wrote summaries of the local discussions. (See report forms and questionnaires in Appendix D.)

The News Environment

The press took considerable interest in the proceedings. More than 300 articles about the Governor's Conversation with Oregon appeared in Oregon newspapers between October and December 1991, when the Ed-Net meetings took place. These articles included 210 news reports, 80 editorials, and 36 opinion pieces. To determine the news environment that prevailed during the Conversation, research staff members read and coded each article as favorable, unfavorable, or neutral (or balanced) toward the Conversation. An article was classified as neutral unless a clearly favorable or unfavorable view was presented.

TABLE 1 ***Newspaper Articles that Describe the Conversation in Positive or Negative Terms, by Type of Article***

Type of Article	Positive (%)	Negative (%)	Neutral (%)
News report (N=210)	36.2	30.5	33.3
Editorial (N=80)	45.0	51.3	3.7
Opinion (N=36)	38.9	55.6	5.5

TABLE 2 *Articles in Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan Newspapers that Describe the Conversation in Positive or Negative Terms, by Type of Article*

	Positive		Negative		Neutral	
	Metro (%)	Nonmetro (%)	Metro (%)	Nonmetro (%)	Metro (%)	Nonmetro (%)
Type of Article						
News report	40.0	34.2	32.7	29.0	27.3	36.7
Editorial	64.3	39.4	28.6	54.5	7.1	6.1
Opinion	33.3	41.7	58.3	54.2	8.3	4.2

Using even this conservative standard, only a third of the news reports described the Conversation in neutral terms. Neutral news reports typically contained just the facts of the Conversation—the who, where, when, how, and why of the effort. News reports that carried the opinions of local influential citizens or Conversation participants usually conveyed a decidedly favorable or unfavorable view of the Conversation. Across the state, news reports more often presented the Conversation in positive terms than in negative terms.

Only a small portion of the editorials and opinion pieces were neutral. The governor's experiment in large-scale, grass-roots public involvement more frequently elicited editorial opposition than support from the state's newspapers. Slightly more than half of the editorials and opinion pieces described the Conversation in negative terms. This negative editorial slant offset the more positive news articles.

Metropolitan and nonmetropolitan newspapers were similar in their news reporting of the Conversation, but metropolitan papers were more supportive in their editorials. About 64 percent of the editorials published in metropolitan Portland, Salem, Eugene-Springfield, and Medford newspapers were favorable toward the Conversation, compared to about 39 percent of the editorials in nonmetropolitan papers. Thus, most Oregonians were exposed to predominantly positive editorial treatment of the Conversation.

The most common criticisms given in unfavorable articles were that the Conversation was biased, expensive, or unnecessary. The concern about bias was clearly the most prominent complaint. More than one out of five critical articles charged that the Conversation was being conducted in a manner that revealed a bias in favor of raising taxes, and an equal proportion offered the more specific criticism that the Conversation was a device to build support for a sales tax.

Nearly all newspapers passed editorial judgment on the Conversation. The total coverage given to the Conversation, including news articles as well as editorials and opinion pieces, was evenly divided between support and opposition. Very little of the coverage was neutral or balanced. Thus, while the press was not consistently favorable or unfavorable to the Conversation, neither was the news environment particularly hospitable for this first-of-a-kind endeavor.

TABLE 3 *Reason for Unfavorable Newspaper Judgments about the Conversation*

Reason Offered	Percent of Articles (%)
Conversation is biased	21.6
Governor is trying to sell sales tax	19.2
Conversation is too expensive	12.8
Rising property-value assessments make Conversation unnecessary	11.2
Ed-Net technology is not appropriate	6.4
Attendance is too low or not representative	5.6
Other	23.2

Events after the Ed-Net Meetings

Immediately following the Ed-Net meetings, the governor's office had tables prepared to summarize questionnaire responses from 2,173 of the participants. The results were made public in a statement that said Oregonians overwhelmingly believe that government should operate more efficiently and that the state needs to restructure taxes to provide more money. Ninety percent of respondents felt that government efficiency should be among the approaches to deal with Measure 5, and 84 percent said Oregon's tax structure needs to be changed. (See Appendix E.)

The governor's office reported receiving two messages from the Ed-Net meetings and questionnaires. First, voters are not satisfied with the way that government spends their tax dollars. Second, voters are willing to consider a tax overhaul once they are satisfied that government has become more efficient. These themes were apparent in the governor's State of the State address on January 23, 1992. (See Appendix F.) This address repeated the lessons from the Ed-Net meetings and concentrated on plans and announcements for restructuring state government to make it more efficient.

The discussion phase of the Conversation process, embodied in the Ed-Net meetings, essentially ended with the State of the State address.

The next phase—action on reforming the way government services are delivered—began immediately. These changes involved the elimination of 4,000 state positions, especially in middle management, and reorganization of several state agencies.

Roberts met twice more with some Conversation participants, once following her State of the State address and again before announcing her tax-reform package in June 1992. Both meetings were personal appearances in several cities around the state and involved only a fraction of the original Conversation participants.

Five months after the Conversation, on June 24, 1992, Roberts released her tax-reform proposal. The proposal accelerated the Measure 5 reduction of property taxes, created a new sales tax earmarked for schools, created a separate property-tax schedule for income-producing property, and provided for a vote by the people. Roberts called a special legislative session on July 1. The legislature refused to refer the proposal to the voters, citing lack of time to consider it, objecting to a September mail ballot, and complaining of being excluded from their role in developing reform proposals. The special session adjourned July 3 without acting.

During the fall campaign season, there was one tax proposal, an initiative measure that would return commercial property rates to pre-Measure 5 levels, and it failed decidedly in the November election. Also in the fall, the governor developed budget proposals for the 1993 legislature. One budget package allocated revenues expected under current law, requiring cuts of $1.2 billion. The second option continued some human service programs, paying for them with increased taxes on cigarettes, beer, and wine, and adding a health provider tax to finance low-income health care. Roberts also presented the legislature a budget that recommended reform of the entire tax system to provide long-term funding for both schools and state services.

At the same time, a special bipartisan legislative committee followed for several months its own process for determining essential services, making budget cuts, and deciding on replacement revenue for General Fund activities. After the November election, in which the Republican party retained control of the House of Representatives, the committee was disbanded before reaching conclusions about replacement revenues.

RESEARCH METHODS

This study focused on citizen participation in the Ed-Net meeting phase of the Conversation with Oregon. It looked for preexisting differences in background, attitude, or opinion that might distinguish participants from persistent voters who did not participate. It asked participants to evaluate their Ed-Net meetings. It examined the two-way communication between the governor and participants. It also looked for changes in the knowledge, attitude, and opinions of participants that might have resulted from participation in the Conversation.

Survey data were collected by telephone between mid-November 1991 and early February 1992. The survey schedule bracketed two key events—the Ed-Net meetings in November and December 1991 and Governor Roberts' State of the State speech in January 1992. The survey interviews were completed well before Governor Roberts announced her tax reform proposal and before the legislature met to consider it. (A subsample was questioned in July about the special session, and those results appear as a postscript to the major study.)

This chapter describes the development of the interview protocol, identifies the various survey groups, and describes the overall research design.

Instrument Development

The instrument development process began with the Ed-Net meetings' goal of opening up constructive communication about the pressing issue of public finance. Instrument development involved exploratory interviews and pretesting of the questionnaires. Members of the study group interviewed forty early participants in the Ed-Net meetings. Those interviews asked relatively unstructured questions about the respondents' overall reactions to the Ed-Net meetings, the logistical arrangements, the content and organization of the meeting, the performance of other participants—including the facilitator and the governor—and the respondents' thoughts about the likely impact of the Conversation with Oregon. These preliminary interviews clarified the major domains of inquiry and led to wording of specific questions.

There are four major research domains for the survey of participants and nonparticipants:

- Demographic characteristics
- Opinions about government and politics in general
- Opinions about the Conversation with Oregon
- Opinions about how to approach the effects of Measure 5

Each of these general domains was addressed by a number of specific questions. For example, for the domain Opinions about the Conversation with Oregon, the respondents were asked five questions:

- "The Conversation, offers some hope that citizens can have an influence on what the governor and legislature do about taxes." (Answered on a scale ranging from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree").
- "The Conversation, was a waste of time." (Answered on a scale ranging from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree").
- "Political leaders already know what they want to do; the Conversation is mostly a public relations effort." (Answered by indicating greater or lesser agreement with this statement than the following one.) "The political leaders are really looking for ideas and will use [the Conversation] to decide what to do."
- "How would you rate the chances that the televised Conversation with Oregon will lead to greater efficiency in the way state government spends its money?" (Answered on a ten-point scale ranging from "not likely at all" to "extremely likely.")
- "How would you rate the chances that the Conversation with Oregon will eventually lead to an improvement in Oregon's present tax

structure?" (Answered through a ten-point scale ranging from "not likely at all" to "extremely likely.")

In addition to the questions asked both participants and nonparticipants, respondents who participated in an Ed-Net meeting were asked about details of the meeting, including:

- Meeting time
- Meeting place
- Room arrangement
- Instructions
- Format of meeting—topics, schedule, and organization
- Performance of the communications technology
- Information distributed at the meeting
- Facilitator's performance
- Other citizens' performances
- Governor's performance
- Questionnaires

The general research strategy was to focus on a limited number of domains, but to measure each of them thoroughly. (The interview instruments are included in Appendix G.)

Survey Groups

Three groups of persistent voters were of interest for the survey: (1) voters who participated in an Ed-Net meeting; (2) voters who were called by Conversation staff members and volunteers but refused to attend; and (3) voters who had not been called, either because they could not be reached or because the meeting schedules were already filled. For each of these groups of voters, names were drawn randomly from statewide samples and provided to the research team by the Conversation staff.

Research Design

A quasi-experimental design was used to structure the data collection. The three groups of voters yield four respondent categories:

Participants	Respondents who were invited to an Ed-Net meeting, accepted, were scheduled, and attended.
No-shows	Respondents who were invited, accepted, and scheduled, but did not attend.
Refused	Respondents who were invited and recruited for an Ed-Net meeting, but refused.
Not Called	Respondents who were not called about scheduling an Ed-Net meeting.

For the first three groups, half were interviewed both before and after the Ed-Net meetings, and the other half were interviewed only after the meeting. All of the not called respondents were interviewed only after the end of the Ed-Net meetings.

About half of the post-Ed-Net interviews were conducted before the governor's State of the State address, and about half were conducted after the governor delivered her address.

For many purposes the no-shows, refused, and not called are combined into a nonparticipants category.

Table 4 lists all the groups interviewed. Among the matched-sample groups, some were interviewed both before and after the Ed-Net meetings, and some only afterward. Though the number of groups is large, the design is simple. The purpose of a quasi-experiment such as this study is to create subgroups that can be compared in order to rule out rival explanations of causes and effects. Underlying the structure of the survey groups are two principles:

1. *Measure change by interviewing the same people twice.* The survey can validly show change only by interviewing the same people both before and after the Ed-Net meetings or the State of the State speech. For example, even if Ed-Net participants differed initially from nonparticipants, the study could still measure changes within each group, because change scores would compare participants to themselves. With two interviews of the same people, we can conclude that whatever changes we find for a group are real ones, provided the initial interview itself did not influence people's later responses.

TABLE 4 *Interview Schedule for Survey Respondent Groups*

Survey Group	Ed-Net Meetings		Governor's Speech	
	Before	After	Before	After
Participants	X	X	X	
Participants	X	X		X
Participants		X	X	
Participants		X		X
No-shows	X	X	X	
No-shows	X	X		X
No-shows		X	X	
No-shows		X		X
Refused	X	X	X	
Refused	X	X		X
Refused		X	X	
Refused		X		X
Not Called		X	X	
Not Called		X		X

2. *Control for interview effects*. People interviewed twice could have been sensitized by the initial interview, so they might respond differently to subsequent questioning. If interview effects occurred unknowingly, they could lead to unfounded conclusions. To protect against that possibility, the design provides each before-and-after group another group of otherwise identical respondents who were only interviewed afterward. If no sensitization occurred, then the responses given after Ed-Net meetings should be the same for a group interviewed twice as for the matched group interviewed only afterward. The same protection is designed into the right-hand side of Table 4 to detect any interview effects in people's responses to Governor Roberts' State of the State speech. This study produced no identifiable interview effects.

Data Collection and Sample Sizes

Conversation staff members in the governor's office cooperated by providing lists of participants and nonparticipants for the survey samples.

The study was designed and the data analyzed independently by the University of Oregon research team.

The telephone interviews were conducted by a private survey firm, MarStat, Inc. At least three attempts were made on different days and at different times to reach each sample member. If a respondent was busy or unavailable at the time of initial contact, an interview appointment was scheduled for a more convenient time.

Altogether, 526 people were interviewed before, after, or both before and after the Ed-Net meetings. These survey respondents included:

151 Participants	180 No-shows
77 Refused	57 Not Called

An additional 61 responses are missing data—mostly post-Ed-Net interviews—that make them unusable for many of the tabulations.

Of the 526 survey respondents, 235 were interviewed both before and after the Ed-Net meetings, and 291 were interviewed only once. Two hundred sixty-four were interviewed both before and after the governor's State of the State speech, and 217 only afterward.

The survey design supports maximum use of the sample through combinations of respondents. For many analyses, everyone who did not attend an Ed-Net meeting can be usefully combined into a nonparticipant category, thus sharpening the contrasts that can be made with the sample. In those analyses, participants number 151 and nonparticipants 224.

RESULTS

Who Attended Conversation Ed-Net Meetings?

The Conversation with Oregon sought a broad cross section of Oregon citizens who vote regularly. The goal was to engage voters in a discussion—a conversation—about state services and their funding. This random selection of persistent voters was one of the noteworthy features of the Conversation with Oregon.

Which citizens participated? Were those who actually attended the Ed-Net meetings representative of all persistent voters, or were they a distinct group?

The voters selected for the Conversation were drawn randomly from lists of registered voters who had voted in the previous three primary and general elections. Some of these persistent voters refused to attend a meeting, and of those who did agree to attend, some did not show up. How did this amount of self-selection affect the representativeness of those who actually participated in the meetings?

The Conversation with Oregon largely achieved the objective of engaging a cross section of persistent Oregon voters in a conversation about state services and their funding. The study compares participants and nonparticipants on ten important demographic characteristics: age, sex, income, education, employment status, presence of school-age children in the home, home ownership, time living in Oregon, private versus public employer, and whether respondent ever lived in another state. Of these ten characteristics, Conversation participants differed from nonparticipants on only one—years of education. Proportionately more participants than nonparticipants had a college education. Otherwise, the backgrounds of participants and nonparticipants were essentially the same.

Both participants and nonparticipants were critical of the responsiveness and competence of state government and elected officials. However, Conversation participants showed a greater sense of political efficacy than nonparticipants, believing to a greater extent that they can influence state and local government.

Nearly as many participants reported having voted for Measure 5 as against it. Nonparticipants who refused to participate were somewhat more likely than participants to say they had voted for Measure 5, but the difference fell just short of statistical significance.

Participants initially knew a little more about the state's Measure 5-related fiscal situation than did nonparticipants, and they were more hopeful about the Conversation process. Participants were inclined to view the Conversation as an honest effort to find out what the voters of Oregon wanted done about state finances and were more optimistic about the Conversation influencing future decisions.

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

Establishing a policy discussion with persistent voters was a new venture, so it is important to examine carefully who participated.

Conversation participants brought to the discussion a broad mix of backgrounds and opinions. Men and women were about equally represented, as were households of various income levels. There were few persistent voters under age thirty-five, but other age groups were about equally represented. About one-third had school-age children. Nearly two-thirds were employed, and a fourth were retired. Nine out of ten owned their own homes, and nearly two-thirds had lived in another state for a year or more during their adult lives.

Before the Conversation, half the persistent voters thought politicians care what people think,

TABLE 5 *Demographic Characteristics of Ed-Net Meeting Participants and Nonparticipants*

	Ed-Net Participants (%)	Nonparticipants (%)	All Respondents (%)
Age (years)			
18–24	2.0	0.6	1.1
25–34	4.0	8.9	7.3
35–44	27.2	24.5	25.4
45–54	27.8	23.2	24.7
55–64	20.5	17.8	18.7
65 and over	18.5	24.8	22.8
Have School-Aged Children	31.8	33.1	32.7
Household Income			
Under $20,000	12.4	19.0	16.8
$20,000–$29,999	14.5	19.7	18.0
$30,000–$39,999	21.4	17.6	18.9
$40,000–$49,999	22.8	12.9	16.1
$50,000–$74,999	15.9	16.9	16.6
$75,000 and over	13.1	13.9	13.6
Employment Status			
Employed			
Full time	59.6	50.6	53.5
Part time	7.9	8.3	8.2
Not Employed			
Unemployed	1.3	2.5	2.2
Retired	21.9	29.6	27.1
Student in school	2.0	1.3	1.5
Homemaker	7.3	7.6	7.5
Employer Type			
Private business	29.1	28.3	28.6
Public sector	19.9	15.9	17.2
Nonprofit organization	6.6	5.4	5.8
Own business	15.9	12.4	13.5
Home Ownership			
Rent	11.3	7.7	8.9
Own	88.7	92.3	91.1
Lived in Another State as an Adult	65.2	60.2	61.9
Sex			
Male	51.0	46.5	48.0
Female	49.0	53.5	52.0
Education Level			
7–11 years	2.6	4.5	3.9
12 years (high school graduate)	13.2	25.2	21.3
13–15 years (some college)	29.1	34.4	32.7
16 years (bachelor's degree)	23.8	16.6	18.9
17 or more years (graduate degree)	31.1	19.4	23.2

TABLE 6 *Opinions about Government and Politicians before the Ed-Net Meetings*

	Ed-Net Participants (%)	Nonparticipants (%)	All Respondents (%)
Public Officials care what people think			
Strongly agree	6.9	5.3	5.9
Somewhat agree	47.5	41.4	43.9
Somewhat disagree	27.7	26.3	26.9
Strongly disagree	17.8	27.0	23.3
How much influence do people have			
A lot	18.8	13.1	15.4
Moderate amount	53.5	37.3	43.7
Practically none	24.8	43.1	35.8
None at all	3.0	6.5	5.1
Sometimes government is too complex to understand			
Strongly agree	37.6	38.3	38.0
Somewhat agree	29.7	33.8	32.2
Somewhat disagree	13.9	12.3	12.9
Strongly disagree	18.8	15.6	16.9
How often can you trust government in Oregon to do what is right			
Always	2.1	2.6	2.4
Most of the time	36.5	32.9	34.3
Some of the time	60.4	61.8	61.3
None of the time	1.0	2.6	2.0

and only a few more thought people have much influence on state and local government. Most had heard of the Conversation, and their initial reactions were mixed. Half felt that political leaders were really looking for ideas and would use them to decide what to do, while the other half suspected that the Conversation would mostly be a public relations effort. Half had voted for Measure 5. Well over half knew that highway and lottery money could not be used to balance the state General Fund budget, but fewer than 10 percent knew how much of that budget would eventually go to local schools under Measure 5.

From this diverse group, who actually participated in the Conversation with Oregon? Voters who participated in the Ed-Net meetings were similar to nonparticipants in most demographic characteristics. Participants and nonparticipants were similar in age, income, employment status, presence of a school-age child at home, home ownership status, and sex. They were also similar on length of time lived in Oregon and whether they had ever lived in a state other than Oregon. Importantly, Conversation participants were no more likely than nonparticipants to work for a public-sector or nonprofit organization.

The single demographic characteristic on which Conversation participants differed from nonparticipants is years of education. More of the participants report sixteen or more years of education than did nonparticipants—nearly 55 percent of the participants compared to 36 percent of the nonparticipants.

ATTITUDES TOWARD GOVERNMENT AND POLITICIANS

How did Conversation participants feel about government prior to the Ed-Net meetings? Did Conversation participants arrive at the Conversation more or less skeptical than nonparticipants about government and politicians?

Prior to their Ed-Net meetings, respondents were asked two questions about the responsiveness of government and politicians. The first asked respondents whether they agreed or disagreed with the statement, "Public officials care very much about what people like me think." As Table 6 shows, 54 percent of the Ed-Net participants strongly or somewhat agreed with that statement compared to about 47 percent of the nonparticipants.

The second question about governmental responsiveness asked, "How much influence do you think people like you can have on state and local government?" The answer categories are "a lot," "a moderate amount," "practically none" and "none at all." Responses to this question suggest that Conversation participants were significantly more likely to feel that they could influence state and local actions. Seventy-two percent of the

participants believe that "people like them" can have "a lot" or "a moderate-amount" of influence. In contrast, only 50 percent of the nonparticipants felt they had a similar level of influence.

Related to the question of influence is the question of comprehensibility. Did respondents feel that politics and government are understandable to ordinary people? The exact question is:

> . . . [P]lease tell me if you agree strongly or somewhat, or disagree strongly or somewhat with the statement: Sometimes politics and government seem too complicated for people to understand.

Conversation participants and nonparticipants responded similarly to this question. Sixty-seven percent of the participants and 72 percent of the nonparticipants strongly or somewhat agreed with the statement that government is sometimes too difficult to understand.

Respondents were asked how much of the time they believed that one could trust the government in Oregon to do what is right. Participants were no more likely than nonparticipants to express trust in Oregon government doing the right thing. Thirty-eight percent of the participants and 35 percent of the nonparticipants thought that one could trust the government to do the right thing always or most of the time.

In summary, Conversation participants' attitudes did not differ greatly from nonparticipants. Before the Ed-Net meetings, the significant difference in attitudes was that those who would later attend an Ed-Net meeting were more optimistic about the ability of people like themselves to influence state and local government.

TABLE 7 *Views before the Ed-Net Meetings about the Conversation with Oregon*

	Ed-Net Participants (%)	Nonparticipants (%)	All Respondents (%)
The Conversation offers some hope that citizens will have an influence on what governor and the legislature do about taxes			
Strongly agree	35.3	19.1	26.2
Somewhat agree	53.9	47.3	50.2
Somewhat disagree	5.9	13.7	10.3
Strongly disagree	4.9	19.8	13.3
The Conversation is a waste of time			
Strongly agree	4.9	16.5	11.4
Somewhat agree	3.9	11.0	7.9
Somewhat disagree	31.4	34.6	33.2
Strongly disagree	59.8	37.8	47.6
Is the Conversation a public-relations effort, or are political leaders really looking for ideas			
Mostly a public relations effort	35.6	57.8	48.0
Really looking for ideas	64.4	42.2	52.0
Chances that the Conversation will lead to greater government efficiency, on a scale from 0 (not at all likely) to 10 (extremely likely) —mean score	4.7	4.0	4.3
Chances that the Conversation will lead to improvement in tax structure, on a scale from 0 (notat all likely) to 10 (extremely likely) —mean score	5.1	4.1	4.5

EXPECTATIONS OF THE CONVERSATION WITH OREGON

Since the Conversation with Oregon was the first of its kind, voters had no history on which to base their expectations. Overall, three-fourths viewed it hopefully. However one-fifth expected it to be a waste of time and half expected it to be a public-relations effort.

Participants were more likely to anticipate that the Conversation would offer "some hope for citizens to influence what the governor and legislature do" about taxes, and they were less

likely to think it would be a "waste of time." Sixty-four percent of the participants thought that, in planning the Conversation, "political leaders are really looking for ideas and will use them to decide what to do," while 58 percent of nonparticipants suspected that, "political leaders already know what they want to do; the Conversation is mostly a public relations effort."

Conversation participants also express greater confidence that the Conversation would lead to greater efficiency in state government and improvements in Oregon's tax structure. Interestingly, while participants were more optimistic about the Conversation than nonparticipants, neither group was very hopeful at the outset. Respondents were asked to rate the chances that the Conversation would lead to greater efficiency and, separately, to an improved tax structure. The average responses for both groups was between 4 and 5 on a scale of zero to 10. (See Table 7)

SUPPORT FOR AND KNOWLEDGE ABOUT MEASURE 5

Overall, survey respondents reported having voted for Measure 5 in 1990 in about the same ratio as the actual statewide vote. Moreover, Conversation participants did not differ significantly from nonparticipants in their reported 1990 vote. About 49 percent of the participants report voting for Measure 5 in 1990 compared to 51 percent of those who were invited but either refused or accepted but did not attend. Respondents not called about attending an Ed-Net meeting were slightly more likely to report voting for Measure 5 (54 percent), but this difference is well within the margin of error for this sample.

The telephone interview included two questions to test respondent knowledge about Measure 5 and state finances. The first question asked respondents how much of the state budget under Measure 5 would go to support public schools. The second question asked whether state lottery funds and gas taxes can be used to balance the General Fund budget.

TABLE 8 ***Percent Who Voted for Tax Limitation (Measure 5)***

	Voted for Measure 5 (%)
Ed-Net Meeting Participants	49.3
Nonparticipants	
Refused or no-show	51.4
Not called	54.5

TABLE 9 ***Knowledge before Ed-Net Meetings about the Portion of State Budget Going to Public Schools under Measure 5 (75 percent), and Use of Lottery and Highway Money to Deal with Measure 5 (No)***

	Participants (%)	Nonparticipants (%)	Total (%)
Money to Schools			
Correct answer	8.9	5.2	6.7
Incorrect answer	63.3	68.8	66.6
Don't know	27.7	26.0	26.7
Using Highway or Lottery Money			
Correct answer	64.4	58.4	60.8
Incorrect answer	24.8	35.7	31.4
Don't Know	10.9	5.8	7.8

Participants came to the Conversation more knowledgeable about Measure 5 and state finance than nonparticipants, though the differences of 4 percent and 6 percent are slight. Neither group was very well informed about Measure 5.

How Did Participants Evaluate Ed-Net Meetings?

How did voters who participated in the Conversation react to the format of the Ed-Net meetings and the telecommunication technology?

Participants in Ed-Net meetings evaluated them as highly successful. The logistical arrangements, the contributions of the other participants, the comments by the governor, and the written materials were all rated highly satisfactory or excellent.

A useful summary measure of the participants' evaluation of the Ed-Net meetings is found in their answers to the question about attending another teleconference on an important state problem. Asked after the Ed-Net meetings, nearly nine out of ten participants said they probably or definitely would attend another meeting.

The Conversation organizers succeeded in gathering together a broad cross section of persistent Oregon voters to open up communications with policy makers about government services and taxes. What did participants think of the Ed-Net meetings? Did they view the meeting as well organized and well structured? What did they think of the information they received? What did they think of the local discussion facilitator, the other participants, and the governor?

After the Ed-Net meetings, participants were asked two series of questions about the meetings themselves. The first series asked the participant to rate each of 15 elements of the Ed-Net meeting as excellent, satisfactory, needing improvement, or not helpful. The second series of questions asked whether they agreed strongly or somewhat or disagreed strongly or somewhat with a number of statements about the Ed-Net meetings.

Participants judged the meetings to be generally well designed and effectively run.

LOGISTICAL ARRANGEMENTS

The Conversation, the first of its kind, was a large-scale undertaking. It encompassed 10,000 randomly selected persistent voters and 90 sites throughout Oregon. The 900 small-group meetings required meeting times and places, room arrangements, instructions for participants, and scheduling of volunteers. It also involved the first large-scale satellite hook up for Ed-Net.

These arrangements were exceptionally successful. Fewer than 10 percent of the participants said that any of the logistical arrangements needed improvement or were not helpful (Figure 2). However, less is known about the reasons nonparticipants declined or failed to attend their scheduled meetings.

FACILITATORS

Staffing of the local Ed-Net meetings was carried out by volunteer facilitators and coordinators, frequently with technical backup from staff members of the local schools and other Ed-Net sites. The volunteers were to host and facilitate the meetings. They were to encourage open discussion, but not to explain the information or try to reach group consensus.

Participants were highly satisfied with the performance of the facilitators—83 percent expressed satisfaction with the manner in which the facilitators handled the discussions. Given the large number of volunteer facilitators and the necessary brevity of training, their performance is remarkable. The facilitator's roles, skills, and training can serve as models for similar exercises in deliberative democracy.

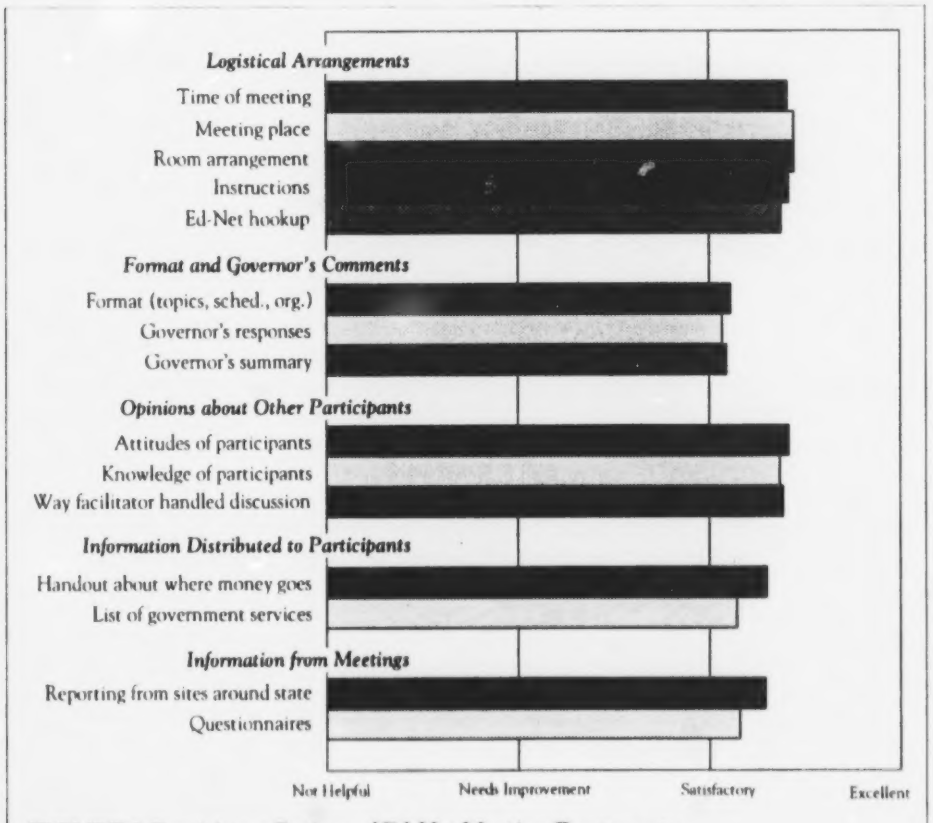


FIGURE 2 *Participant Ratings of Ed-Net Meeting Components*

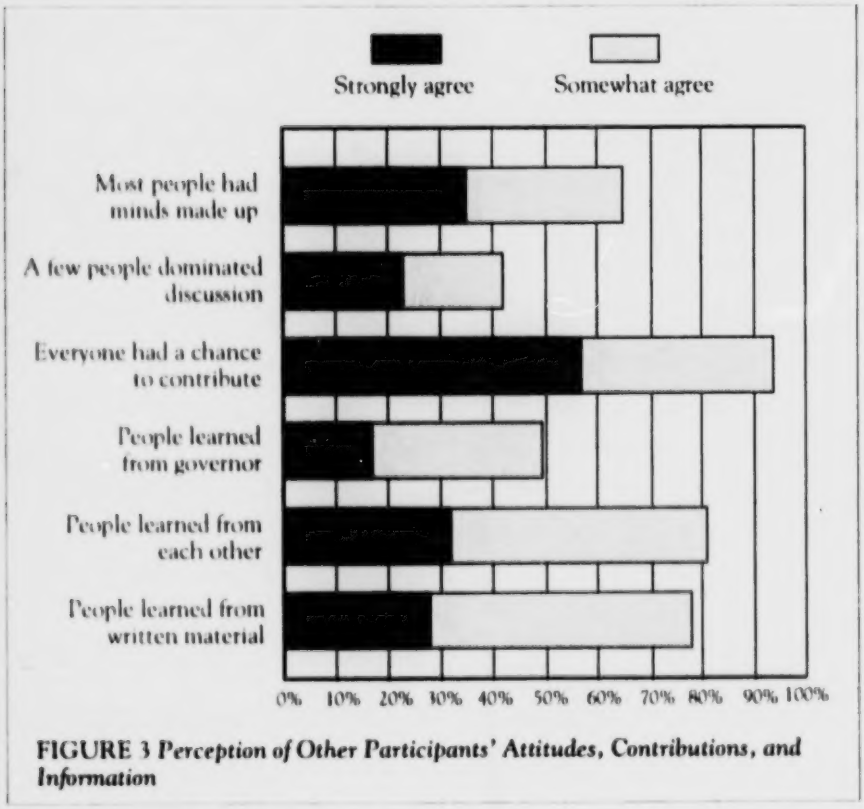

Strongly agree
Somewhat agree
Most people had minds made up
A few people dominated discussion
Everyone had a chance to contribute
People learned from governor
People learned from each other
People learned from written material
0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%

FIGURE 3 ***Perception of Other Participants' Attitudes, Contributions, and Information***

CONTRIBUTION OF OTHER PARTICIPANTS

One of the Ed-Net meeting objectives was to stimulate discussion among voters. About one-half of the meeting was spent in discussion at the site, without using Ed-Net. In those local discussions, the facilitators led discussions of standard questions about governmental efficiency, desired public services, and public finances.

The discussions were productive for the new and diverse groups of voters at the Ed-Net meetings, and respondents valued highly the contribution made by the other participants. Fully 89 percent thought the other participants had a satisfactory or excellent attitude, and 85 percent thought the other participants had a satisfactory or excellent base of knowledge for the discussion. Eighty percent of the respondents agreed that "people learned from each other." (See Figure 3)

Yet there is also a feeling that other participants had their minds made up. Some participants felt their discussions were dominated by a few people, but almost all respondents (94 percent) agreed that everyone had a chance to contribute to the discussion.

The picture that emerges reflects the aggravations and the virtues of democracy—we may find our fellow citizens bull-headed and sometimes long-winded, but in the end we realize that we have learned from them.

This finding is important because the Conversation was organized so that participants could converse with each other as well as with the governor. In fact, the governor was the only person not physically present, and she had the least opportunity to participate in the give-and-take of conversation. Accordingly, participants were more likely to say they learned from each other than from the governor, even though she presented the factual information about government programs and taxes.

CONTENT OF ED-NET MEETINGS

The Ed-Net meeting was structured to discuss in just two hours the important but complex subject of public finance. The participating voters were cast in a new role as advisers to the governor, and they used new telecommunications technology. To be successful, these meetings needed understandable information and a well-structured agenda.

Despite the complexity of the subject, 80 percent of the participants evaluated the written information distributed at the Ed-Net meeting as satisfactory or excellent, and nearly 80 percent agreed or strongly agreed that people learned from the written materials.

The structure of the Ed-Net meetings was somewhat less satisfactory. About two-thirds of the respondents reported satisfaction with the format of the meeting, but they were less satisfied with the topics, schedule, and organization than with most other aspects of the meeting.

The governor's role was, via Ed-Net, to present the information and to summarize the brief reports made by selected sites. Fifty percent of the respondents said people seemed to learn quite a bit from the governor. Sixty-two percent of the participants rated the governor's responses to the comments satisfactory or excellent, but 31 percent said they needed improvement and 7 percent rated them not helpful. About 66 percent rated the governor's concluding summary of what she heard as satisfactory or excellent, but 28 percent said it needed improvement, and 6 percent rated her summary not helpful.

The interpretation of these data depends upon one's expectation. For example, the governor's ratings may be disappointing, compared to the highly favorable rating of some aspects of the Ed-Net meetings. Compared to the negative voter sentiment toward government and politicians in general, the finding that two-thirds viewed the governor's role positively is more impressive. Since this was a first time for everyone—planners, Ed-Net staff members, facilitators, the governor, and participants—the ratings and perceptions of participants are encouraging. They also identify opportunities for improvements in the structure of future projects of this type.

A useful summary measure of the participants' overall evaluation of the Ed-Net meetings is how they would feel about attending another teleconference on an important state problem. Asked some time after the Ed-Net meetings, nearly nine out of ten participants said that they probably or definitely would want to participate in another session. This response is similar to their opinions at the end of the meetings, when 87 percent said in their written evaluations that the Ed-Net meeting was very informative or somewhat informative.

What Approaches would Participants Take to Measure 5?

What preferences did participants express for responding to the challenge of Measure 5?

Voters wanted the response to Measure 5 to be crafted out of three policy approaches—improved efficiency, a restructured tax system, and perhaps reduced service. They clearly wanted to see evidence of a more efficient government but, they said, they expect the response to include a restructured tax system that will raise the money necessary to support desired public services. There is little support for a response that does not include additional tax revenue. The policy preferences of Conversation participants did not differ substantially from those of voters who did not participate in the Ed-Net meetings.

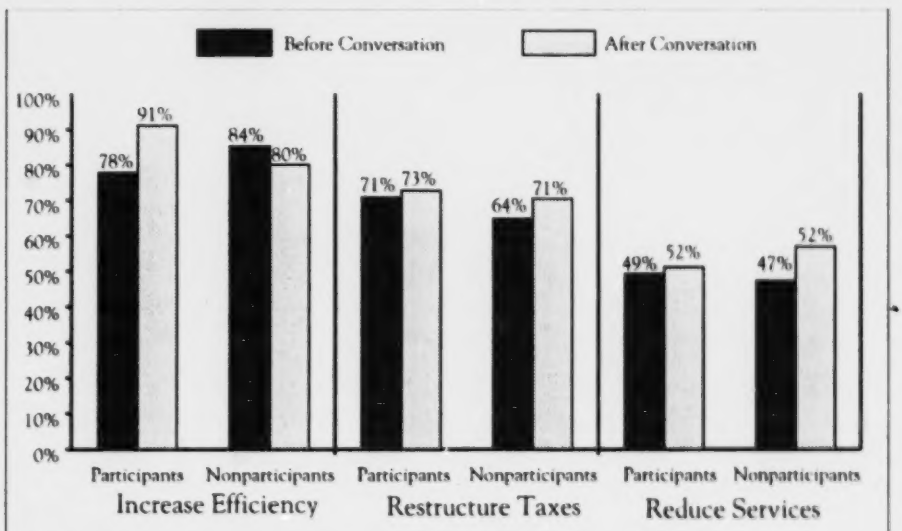


FIGURE 4 ***Percentage of Respondents Who Would Increase Efficiency, Reduce Services, or Restructure the Tax System***

Central to the idea of the Conversation with Oregon is the notion that through a dialogue, voters come to more considered opinions, and the governor comes to understand better the preferences of the electorate. The Conversation departed from the typical polling process in that participants were provided with information critical to the policy issue, had opportunities to discuss the issue with other voters, and had time to deliberate on the issues. Thus, in contrast to public opinion, which tends to be uninformed, superficial, and transient, the

TABLE 10 ***How Respondents Would Approach Measure 5***

	Before Conversation			After Conversation		
	Participants (%)	Nonparticipants (%)	Total (%)	Participants (%)	Nonparticipants (%)	Total (%)
Increase efficiency only	3.0	10.4	7.5	7.3	5.4	6.0
Reduce services only	4.0	2.6	3.1	0.7	1.6	1.3
Restructure taxes only	7.9	2.6	4.7	1.3	1.9	1.7
Increase efficiency and reduce services	15.8	14.9	15.3	13.2	10.8	11.6
Increase efficiency and restructure taxes	34.7	31.2	32.5	33.8	29.6	31.0
Reduce services and restructure taxes	4.0	2.6	3.1	0.7	4.5	3.2
Increase efficiency, reduce services, and restructure taxes	24.8	27.3	26.3	37.1	34.7	35.5
Don't know	5.9	8.8	7.5	6.0	11.5	9.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

governor has the opportunity to sample public judgment, which is thought to be more informed, deliberate, and stable. With this said, the question becomes, "What is the public judgment?" How would citizens approach Measure 5?

There are three possible approaches to Measure 5: improving efficiency, increasing taxes, and reducing services. Participants were asked which of these approaches they wanted included in the response to Measure 5, and nearly all favored a combination.

As Figure 4 shows, nearly all participants (91 percent) thought "increased government efficiency" should be part of the response. Three of four participants wanted to "restructure Oregon's tax system to provide more money." Half favored reducing services. These judgments, obtained from the participants after the Ed-Net meetings, were similar to their opinions beforehand, and they were similar to the opinions expressed by nonparticipants.

As mentioned earlier, the response to Measure 5 can be a single approach or a combination of approaches. Table 10 presents all the combinations. The data show clearly that voters did not want the response to include only a single option. Only 8 percent of the participants suggest relying solely on additional taxes; 4 percent suggest meeting the challenge exclusively through service reductions; and just 3 percent suggest relying solely on increased efficiency. In total, only 15 percent of the Ed-Net meeting participants chose single approaches: increased taxes, service reductions, or increased efficiency. Likewise, only 15 percent of the nonparticipants recommended single approaches.

The most popular response, favored by nearly 35 percent of the Ed-Net participants, was a combination of increased efficiency and restructured taxes. The other policy that received substantial support was a combination of all three—increased efficiency, restructured taxes, and reduced services. Interestingly, fewer than one in four proposed a response that did not include additional taxes. The percentage of nonparticipants who supported a response that did not include additional taxes is slightly higher—28 percent compared to 23 percent of participants.

Do Conversation Participants Believe the Governor Heard What They Said?

Did participants in the Ed-Net meetings believe that the governor heard and acted on their advice?

The evidence seems clear that Ed-Net meeting participants believed the governor listened to them in shaping her response to Measure 5.

They became even more confident after attending the meetings that the Conversation would influence what the governor and legislature would do, and they judged the proposals in the governor's State of the State speech to be consistent with what participants said during the Ed-Net meetings.

People who had voted for Measure 5 were especially impressed with what the governor said in her speech, thinking it greatly increased the chances that the Conversation would lead to greater efficiency in the way state government spends state money.

The Conversation was based on the idea of a dialogue between voters and the governor, but the expectation went beyond that. It implied that the governor would consider participants' views in shaping her response to Measure 5; likewise, it implied that voters would take the Conversation into account in discussions and votes on public services and taxes. As the governor's statement described the Conversation, "We are giving people the information and the power to help us answer the most critical questions Oregon faces: What kind of future do we want for our state? What level of public services do we want and need? And finally, how are we going to provide for those services?" The previous section reported how Conversation participants answered these questions. Did the participants feel that the governor paid attention to their answers?

The study takes three approaches to this question. The first reviews the data on participants' evaluation of the governor's participation during the Ed-Net meetings (Figure 2). Sixty-five percent of the participants evaluated the governor's summary of what she heard as either "satisfactory" or "excellent."

The second approach asks participants if they believed that the Conversation "offered some hope that citizens can have an influence on what the governor and legislature do about taxes." After the meetings, 85 percent of the participants, compared to 70 percent of the nonparticipants, reported that the Conversation offered some hope that citizens would have an influence. The difference between participants and nonparticipants is due partly, but only partly, to the more hopeful attitude of participants prior to the Ed-Net meetings. Prior to the meetings, ten surveyed participants believed the Conversation would not influence the governor or legislature, but attending the meetings changed their opinions and seven of them said the Conversation would be influential. Thus, the evidence suggests that the Ed-Net meetings, including what the governor said, sustained and even increased the participants' optimism that the Conversation would help shape the state's response to Measure 5.

TABLE 11 ***Ratings (0 to 10) of Chances the Conversation Would Lead to Greater Government Efficiency***

	Average Rating before Conversation	Average Rating after Conversation	Change
Respondents interviewed twice			
Second interviews after Ed-Net but before speech	4.14	4.42	+ 0.28
Second interviews after Ed-Net and after speech	4.31	5.24	+ 0.93

Measure 5 voters' changes in ratings of the Conversation's chances of increasing government efficiency:

	Second Interview before Speech	Second Interview after Speech
Voted for Measure 5	– 0.03	+ 1.31
Voted against Measure 5	+ 0.62	+ 0.57

The third and most direct way to find out whether participants' thought the governor heard them is to see whether they judged her State of the State speech to be consistent with what was said during the Ed-Net meetings.

THE GOVERNOR'S STATE OF THE STATE SPEECH

The governor' State of the State speech on January 23, 1992, provided a public opportunity to see what the governor had heard from the Conversation and to see what approach she would take to Measure 5. Governor Roberts concentrated on one of the themes voiced by Ed-Net participants and written on their questionnaires: government efficiency. The governor frankly stated her belief that the public would not be ready to consider replacement revenue until the state could show it was making the best use of current resources. She described some of the proposals for state reorganization and announced that she would cut 4,000 state positions.

This study was well positioned to assess the impact of the governor's speech, so the research team delayed some of the post-Ed-Net meeting interviews until after the State of the State speech. (The survey was conducted in the days following the speech, so it did not cover voter reaction to Roberts' June tax proposal or the July special legislative session.)

Conversation participants thought the proposals in the speech reflected well the Ed-Net meetings. Of the 59 participants interviewed after the governor's speech, 83 percent (all but ten) said the governor's proposals were consistent with what was said at the Ed-Net meetings the participants attended.

The interviews also included a question about efficiency. This item asked all respondents to estimate the chances (from 0 to 10) that the Conversation would lead to greater efficiency in the way state government spends its money. Most respondents were asked the question both before and after the Ed-Net meetings. People whose second interview occurred after the Ed-Net meetings but just before the speech gave slightly more favorable ratings than they had previously (4.4 compared to 4.1), but those whose second interviews fell after the governor's speech showed a huge increase (5.2 compared to 4.3). (See Table 11) The amount of change was about the same, whether the respondent participated in the Ed-Net meetings or not.

Respondents who had voted in favor of Measure 5 were especially impressed by the governor's State of the State speech. Yes voters on Measure 5 whose second interview fell after the speech were far more favorable in their estimations of the Conversation's chances of leading to increased efficiency than they had been at the outset, while those interviewed for the second time just before the speech showed an insignificant change in their efficiency ratings. In emphasizing greater efficiency, the governor was saying what Measure 5 supporters wanted to hear.

People who had voted against Measure 5 showed healthy increases in efficiency ratings for the Conversation, but the increases were about the same whether their second interview was before or after the speech. They were apparently encouraged by the Conversation process and were not influenced by the speech.

How Did the Conversation Affect the Participants?

How did participating in a Conversation Ed-Net meeting affect participants' knowledge, opinions, and civic activity?

Participants in an Ed-Net meeting learned about state financial issues related to Measure 5. However, that information did not produce

TABLE 12 ***Knowledge about Percent of State Budget Going to Public Schools after Measure 5, and Use of Lottery and Highway Money to Deal with Measure 5: Before and After Conversation***

	Before Conversation			After Conversation		
	Participants (%)	Nonparticipants (%)	Total (%)	Participants (%)	Nonparticipants (%)	Total (%)
Money to Schools						
Correct answer ("75%")	8.9	5.2	6.7	23.2	5.4	12.0
Incorrect answer						
"25%"	36.6	48.7	43.9	19.2	28.8	25.2
"50%"	26.7	20.1	22.7	37.7	30.0	32.8
Total incorrect	63.3	68.8	66.6	56.9	58.8	58.0
Don't know	27.7	26.0	26.7	19.9	35.8	29.9
Using Lottery or Highway Money						
Correct answer ("No")	64.4	58.4	60.8	74.2	48.1	56.6
Incorrect answer ("Yes")	24.8	35.7	31.4	19.9	41.4	34.4
Don't Know	10.9	5.8	7.8	6.0	10.5	9.0

profound change in their opinions or civic behavior. Participants became neither more nor less cynical about government or politicians, and they retained their policy preferences for responding to Measure 5. Finally, participants in an Ed-Net meetings engaged in substantial discussion about the policy issues both in their households and in their communities.

The purpose of the Conversation was to involve voters in a serious discussion about services and the means to fund them. In addition to helping the governor craft a response to Measure 5, objectives included educating voters, engaging them in the policy-making process, and encouraging them to become active citizens.

What did the participants learn? Did their opinions about government and politicians change? Have they changed their opinion about what to do about Measure 5? Did they engage in other civic activities related to Measure 5? These questions are addressed in this section.

WHAT DID PARTICIPANTS LEARN?

Did participants became more knowledgeable about state finances related to Measure 5? Figures 2 and 3 presented above show that participants rated favorably the written information distributed during the Ed-Net meeting and report that they learned from each other and from the governor. Is the self-reported learning substantiated by data showing increased knowledge about state finance issues?

As discussed earlier, the telephone interview included two questions to test respondent knowledge about Measure 5. The first question asked respondents how much of the state budget would go to support public schools after Measure 5 is fully implemented. The second question asked whether state lottery funds and gas taxes can be used to balance the state General Fund budget. Prior to the Conversation, both groups were about equally informed on these issues. As Figures 5 and 6 show, however, participation in the Conversation did increase respondents' knowledge about state finances. This is one of the most compelling results of the Conversation.

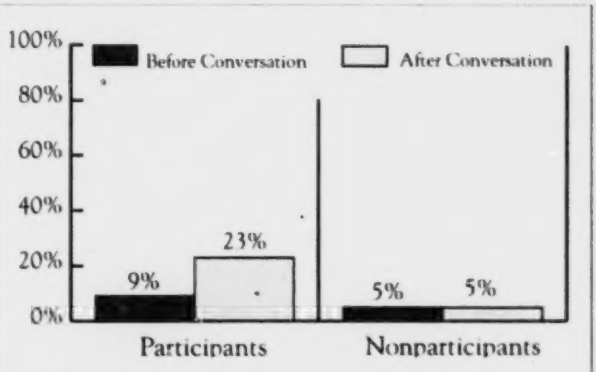


FIGURE 5 ***Percent Correctly Answering Question about the Proportion of State General Fund Revenue Ultimately Going to Public Schools under Measure 5***

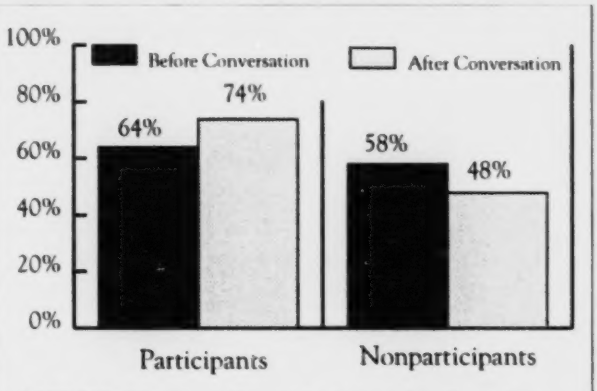


FIGURE 6 ***Percent Correctly Answering Question about the Availability of Lottery and Highway Funds to Balance the General Fund Budget***

Even after the Conversation, however, more than three-fourths of the participants and 95 percent of nonparticipants still underestimate the potential financial impact of Measure 5.

CHANGES IN OPINIONS ABOUT GOVERNMENT AND POLITICIANS

Prior to the Conversation, participants and nonparticipants reported similar views about government and politicians. Did participating in the Ed-Net meetings alter the judgments of participants? As Table 13 shows, the Ed-Net meetings did not substantially change participants' opinions about government and politicians. That is, participants were no more likely than nonparticipants to change their opinion, either positively or negatively, about government and politicians.

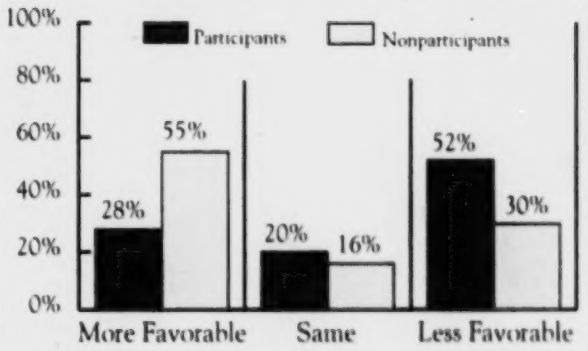


FIGURE 7 ***Changes in Opinion about Governor's Job Performance***

A related but more specific question is whether participants in the Ed-Net meetings changed their evaluations of the governor's job performance. After participating in an Ed-Net meeting, a majority of the participants evaluated the governor's job performance somewhat less favorably than they had prior to the Ed-Net meeting. Nonparticipants, on the other hand, evaluated the governor's performance more favorably in the second interview than they had during the earlier interview. Clearly the Conversation was not dominated by Roberts supporters.

CHANGES IN OPINION ABOUT RESPONSE TO MEASURE 5

Did the opportunity to learn more about state finances generally and about the impact of Measure 5 specifically lead respondents to change their opinions about what should be done? In a word, no. The views of Ed-Net participants were largely the same after the meeting as they were before. For example, prior to the meeting 71 percent of the participants favored a response which included a restructured tax system, compared to 73 percent after the meeting. Likewise, prior to the Ed-Net meeting 49 percent favored a response which included fewer state services, and 52 percent favored fewer services afterward.

Interestingly, the views of nonparticipants changed more than participants. Support for a restructured tax system increased among nonparticipants from 64 percent before the Conversation to 71 percent afterward, while their reliance on efficiency measures declined. Thus, over the intervening period, nonparticipants came to share the view of participants on the desirability of responding to Measure 5 with a restructured tax system.

TABLE 13 ***Changes in Respondents' Opinions about Government and Politicians***

	Ed-Net Participants (%)	Nonparticipants (%)	All Respondents (%)
Politicians care what people think			
Increased agreement	19.0	18.2	18.5
Remained the same	51.0	52.3	51.7
Decreased agreement	30.0	29.5	29.7
People have influence on government			
Increased agreement	21.8	18.9	20.2
Remained the same	59.4	57.6	58.4
Decreased agreement	18.8	23.5	21.5
Sometimes government is too complex to understand			
Increased agreement	22.8	23.1	23.0
Remained the same	59.4	54.5	56.6
Decreased agreement	17.8	22.4	20.4
You can trust Oregon's government to do what is right			
Increased agreement	11.5	15.9	14.0
Remained the same	70.8	75.8	73.7
Decreased agreement	17.7	8.3	12.3

CIVIC ACTIVATION

Finally, did participants in the Ed-Net meeting engage in other civic activities related to Measure 5? Respondents were asked about a number of activities ranging from talking to household members about Measure 5 to attending meetings or writing letters about Measure 5.

The survey indicates that nearly all persistent voters kept up with civic affairs by reading and talking with other people, and some engaged in a variety of activities. Participants in the Ed-Net meetings were more likely than nonparticipants to talk to household members and other people about Measure 5. (See Table 14)

Nearly one-third of the participants reported attending meetings where Measure 5 was discussed,

TABLE 14 ***Percentage of Respondents Who Engaged in Civic Activities Related to Measure 5***

	Ed-Net Participants (%)	Nonparticipants (%)	All Respondents (%)
Read articles and news reports about Measure 5	91.1	91.0	91.1
Talked about Measure 5 with household members	84.2	71.6	77.0
Talked about Measure 5 with people outside of household	97.0	88.1	91.9
Attended meetings where Measure 5 was discussed	32.7	25.4	28.4
Wrote letters about Measure 5 to public officials	13.9	7.6	10.3

and 14 percent said they wrote letters about Measure 5 to public officials. Nonparticipants reported similar activity, and the differences are not statistically significant.

It is interesting that such large a proportions of respondents said they attended meetings where Measure 5 was discussed. Respondents who reported attending a meeting were asked what meeting they attended. The most common were school meetings and city council or other local government meetings. It appears from the descriptions that the respondents' attendance at these meetings was unrelated to Measure 5 but, while in attendance, Measure 5 was discussed.

A POSTSCRIPT

About five months after the Conversation, on June 24, 1992, Governor Roberts released her tax-reform proposal. That proposal would accelerate the Measure 5 reduction of property taxes, create a split-roll property-tax schedule so income-producing property would pay a higher rate than owner-occupied homes, provide renters a share of the property-tax relief, create a 3.5 percent sales tax earmarked for schools, and provide a modest reduction in the personal income tax.

Governor Roberts asked the legislature to refer the tax-restructuring plan to the voters for a September election. The legislature met in special session July 1 but refused to refer the proposal to the voters, with the House of Representatives defeating the measure by a vote along party lines of 31-28. The Speaker of the House cited a lack of time to consider the proposal, objected to a September mail ballot, and complained of legislators being excluded from their traditional role in developing reform proposals. The special session adjourned July 3 without passing the measure and was widely characterized as a disaster.

How did this fruitless session affect the public view of state government and the Conversation with Oregon? Were voters aware of the governor's tax reform plan, and what did they think of it? What did they think of the special session; was the governor correct in saying, "Oregonians are going to look at this process and not feel very good now?"

TABLE 15 ***Comments about the Special Legislative Session***

	Support or Approve (%)	Oppose or Disapprove (%)	Not Mentioned (%)
Outcome of the special session	16.3	64.0	19.8
Governor's legislative strategy	14.0	40.7	45.3
Governor's Tax Plan	1.2	4.7	94.2

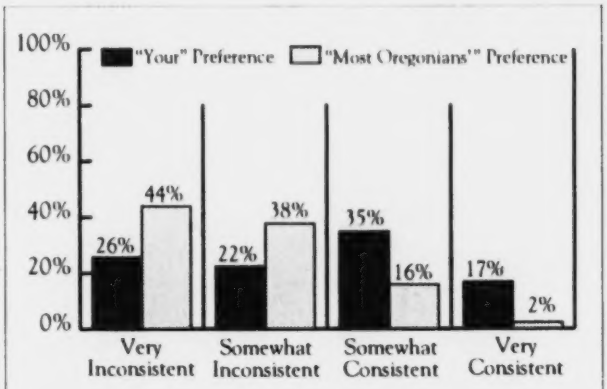


FIGURE 8 ***How Consistent is Governor's Tax Plan with Respondent's Preference and with Respondent's View of Most Oregonian's Preference?***

To answer these questions, additional telephone interviews were conducted with a subsample of the original survey of persistent voters. Fifty-four Conversation participants and forty-seven nonparticipants were interviewed during July, following the special session. As they had in the earlier survey, Conversation participants and nonparticipants in the subsample had many similar opinions, so they are combined except when the two groups differed.

REACTION TO THE GOVERNOR'S TAX REFORM PROPOSAL

Nearly all respondents had heard or read about the governor's tax reform plan. Of the 96 percent who were aware of it, a majority (52 percent) said the plan was "somewhat consistent" or "very consistent" with what they wanted. This is an impressive result, considering Oregon's difficulty over the last several decades in reforming the tax system. Strangely, however, only 18 percent thought the plan was consistent with what most Oregonians want.

What would account for this contradictory result? Why would so many people say the plan has merit but think other Oregonians would disagree? Are persistent voters so different from other residents?

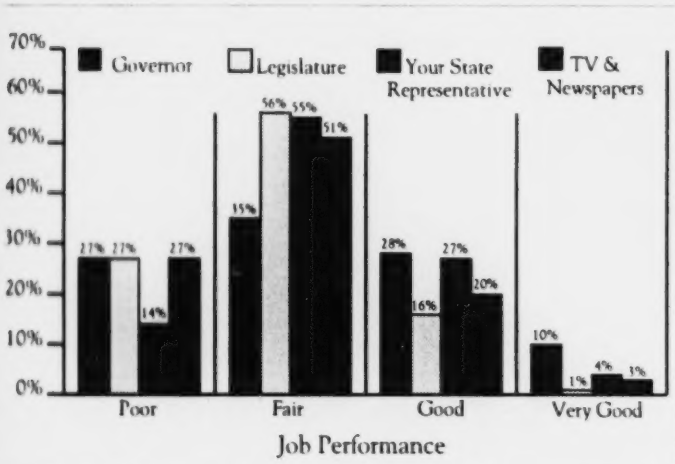


FIGURE 9 ***Respondent's Evaluation of the Job Performance of the Governor, Legislature, State Representative, and News Media***

Or, is the no-new-taxes position overreported? If, in the ordinary process of reporting the news, antitax interests get more attention, everyone may be getting a distorted picture of the general public's opinion.

REACTION TO THE SPECIAL LEGISLATIVE SESSION

In addition to questions about the tax plan, respondents were asked about the special legislative session. Eighty-six percent were aware of the special session. When asked for comments, four out of five mentioned the outcome of the session. (See Table 15) Most respondents disapproved; in fact, only 16 percent spoke approvingly of the session's work.

Other frequent comments focused on the governor's legislative strategy, which was mentioned by more than half the respondents. Respondents most frequently criticized the strategy as being high risk and lacking in consultation, negotiation, and compromise.

In commenting on the special session, fewer than five percent of respondents mentioned the governor's tax plan itself.

ASSESSMENT OF INSTITUTIONAL PERFORMANCE

These post-Conversation interviews also provided an additional check on voters' confidence in state government. Respondents were asked to rate the job performance of the governor, the legislature, the respondent's own state representative, and the television and newspaper news. None fared well. Two-thirds to four-fifths of the respondents gave these officials and institutions "poor" or "fair" ratings.

The best rating went to the governor, who won the approval of 38 percent of the respondents, including "very good" evaluations by ten percent of the respondents. (See Figure 9) Individual state representative received "good" or "very good" ratings from 31 percent of the respondents in their districts; however, the legislature as a whole earned approval from only 17 percent of the respondents, including "very good" ratings from just one percent. Only 23 percent gave "good" or "very good" job evaluations to television and newspapers.

How much the special session depressed voters' opinions is illustrated in the ratings of the governor's job performance, for which we have

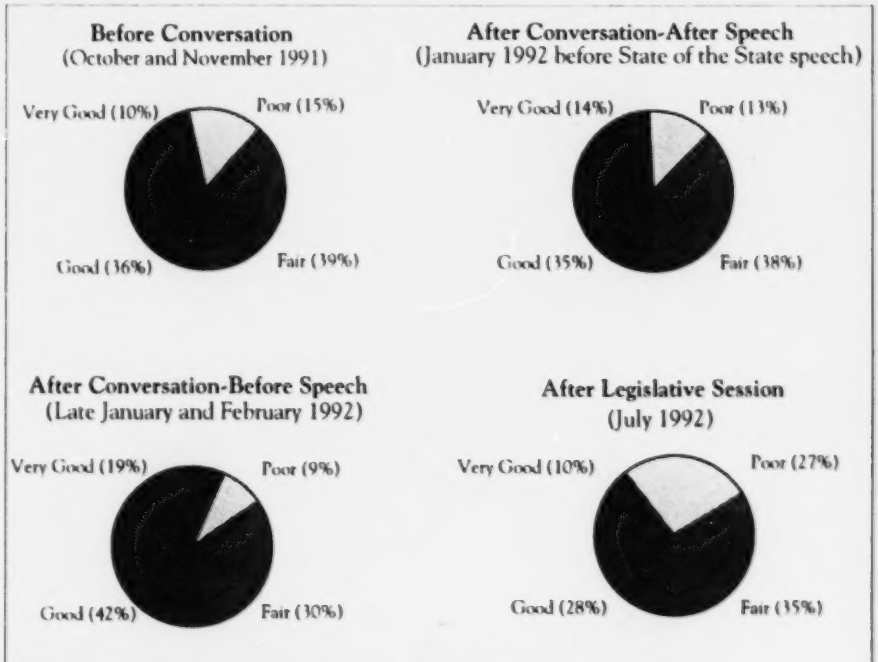


FIGURE 10 ***Ratings of Governor's Performance: All Respondents***

data from the persistent-voter survey. Before the Conversation, 46 percent rated her performance "good" or "very good." After the conversation but before the State of the State speech, her favorable rating rose to 61 percent. Opinions of the State of the State speech differed, and her favorable rating among all respondents dropped somewhat, to 49 percent. After the special session, just 38 percent of the subsample rated her job performance "good" or "very good." (See Figure 10)

In fact, regard for all the state's political institutions declined after the special session until only one-third of the respondents thought it either "very likely" or even "somewhat likely" that the legislature would develop a plan that is acceptable to them or to most Oregonians. (See Figure 11) The performance of the special session was viewed as further evidence of the failure of the political system.

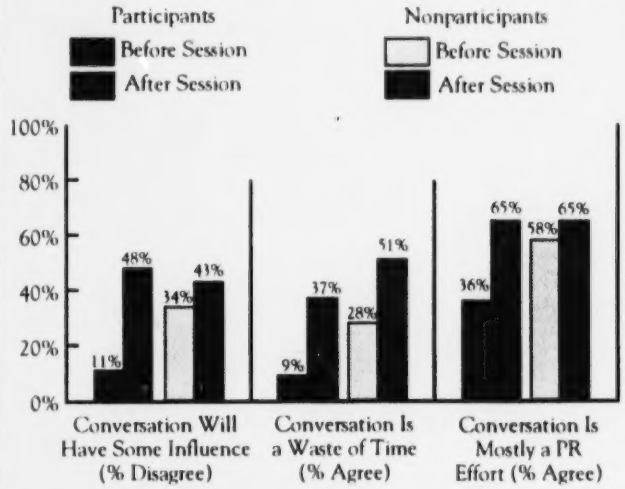


FIGURE 12 ***Participants and Nonparticipants Opinions about the Conversation Before and After the Special Session***

A FINAL OBSERVATION ABOUT THE CONVERSATION WITH OREGON

How did the special session and the legislature's outright rejection of the governor's tax-reform package affect opinion about the Conversation with Oregon? As might be expected, hope for the Conversation declined considerably. Before the special session, substantial majorities of both participants and nonparticipants thought the Conversation was time well spent and offered hope that citizens could influence what the governor and legislature do about taxes. They thought it offered hope for a solution to the crisis precipitated by Measure 5.

After the special session, two-thirds of both groups were willing to characterize the Conversation as mostly a public-relations effort. The percentage of respondents who thought it offered hope of influencing policy fell sharply, but remained at just over 50 percent. Clearly, the special session soured persistent voters' opinion about the worth of the Conversation with Oregon, but about half continued to view it with hope if not optimism.

Disillusionment was particularly widespread among people who had participated in the Conversation. Whereas participants were very hopeful about the Conversation before the special session, with nine out of ten saying it was a good use of time and showed hope of influencing policy, they were nearly as pessimistic as nonparticipants after the special session. For example, the percentage of participants who thought the Conversation would not influence the governor and legislature rose from 11 percent to 48 percent. (See Figure 12) Even so, more than half of both participants and nonparticipants continued to think the Conversation could have some influence.

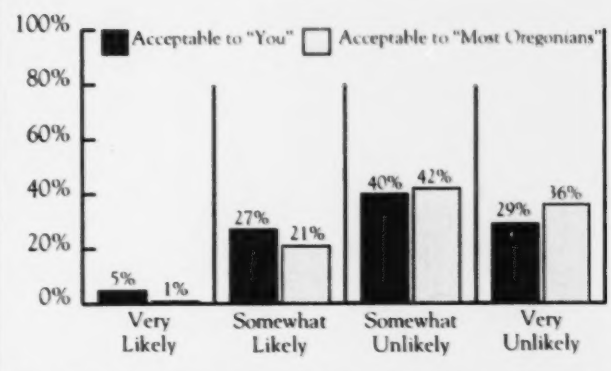


FIGURE 11 ***How Likely the State Legislature will Develop a Tax Plan Acceptable to Respondent and Acceptable to Most Oregonians***

OBSERVATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Voters precipitated a long-simmering fiscal crisis by approving Measure 5. Newly elected Governor Barbara Roberts, having witnessed many failed attempts to reform Oregon's tax structure, took a new approach to the problem—a Conversation with Oregon. The Conversation was an unprecedented effort to use interactive communication technology to involve a large number of responsible citizens in a dialogue at the grassroots level about government services and public finance.

This study seeks to discover what happened in that venture in deliberative democracy, especially in the Ed-Net meetings. Who participated? What did participants think of the meetings? What did they learn and what advice did they give the governor? Did the Conversation open up the hoped for communication?

The answers the study can provide come principally from a telephone survey of the persistent voters Roberts sought to engage in the Conversation. The survey asked 526 of those persistent voters about their backgrounds and opinions. It included 151 who participated in the Ed-Net meetings and others who refused, who were scheduled to attend but didn't, or who were not contacted.

The Participants

Governor Roberts wanted to have this conversation, not with advocacy groups, but with a cross section of citizens who are most likely to vote. This was one of the most noteworthy features of the Conversation with Oregon.

With the help of county elections departments, the Conversation staff drew a sample of persistent voters—people who had voted in the previous three primary and general elections—and telephoned to schedule them for Ed-Net meetings.

The sample of voters selected for the Ed-Net meetings was drawn randomly, but some refused to attend and other missed their scheduled meetings. Thus, one needs to question whether the governor was hearing from a representative sampling of persistent voters or from a distinct group.

The Conversation participants brought to the discussion a broad mix of backgrounds and opinions. The survey reveals that there were far more similarities than differences between people who participated in the Ed-Net meetings and other persistent voters who did not participate. There were only minor differences on most demographic characteristics, too minor to be significant in the survey's sample. The similarities included age range, sex, employment status, type of employer, household income, school-age children, home ownership, and whether the respondent had lived in another state as an adult. The only significant demographic difference was the higher level of education of participants. In addition, participants held the same skeptical opinion of government and politicians as nonparticipants. Like nonparticipants, about half of the participants reported voting for Measure 5.

The principal difference between participants and nonparticipants was in their expectation for the Conversation with Oregon. People who thought political leaders were really looking for ideas and thought the Conversation offered some hope for citizen influence on the governor and the legislature were more likely to attend. Their more cynical and passive peers were more likely to call the Conversation a waste of time and to stay home. Although few respondents were well informed, participants were also relatively more informed about state finances and were somewhat more likely to have college educations.

Conclusion

The 10,000 people who participated in the governor's Conversation with Oregon were not a perfect reflection of all Oregon's persistent voters, but they were broadly representative. Looking at

both the similarities in their circumstances and the limited differences in their attitudes, this study reveals that recruitment for the Conversation succeeded in calling together a broad cross section of this important segment of the electorate. Conversation participants differed only slightly from those who did not participate, but in a constructive way: they brought a positive sense of efficacy to the discussion.

The Ed-Net Meetings

The centerpiece of the Conversation was the series of local meetings that connected the governor to the participants and the participants to each other using the state's new Ed-Net interactive telecommunications network. **Lasting just over two hours, these first Ed-Net meetings involved many people and organizations in new roles, delivered a lot of information, and initiated discussion of complex issues.**

Surveyed after the meetings, voters who participated in the Ed-Net meetings gave them high marks. The logistical arrangement of rooms and meeting times, the Ed-Net hookup, the attitudes and knowledge exhibited by other participants, and the volunteer facilitators all received excellent ratings by most participants. Rated slightly lower, but still satisfactory to excellent in the judgment of participants, were the informational handouts, the reporting from sites around the state, the governor's comments and summaries, and the general format. Nearly all agreed that everyone had a chance to participate in the local discussions, and more than three-fourths said people learned from each other and from the written material.

The governor and her staff members, the Ed-Net central staff members and site coordinators, and the volunteers successfully executed a very ambitious plan. It is easy to take a successful operation for granted, but scheduling 10,000 people and coordinating 900 local meetings is a major undertaking. These Ed-Net meetings also involved nontechnical presentation of complex fiscal information, the mixing of teleconferencing with local discussion, the large-scale use of volunteer facilitators, and a statewide reporting process.

From the participant survey, it appears that the logistical arrangements presented no barriers for those who attended. However, we know only a little about the reasons that other people declined or missed their scheduled meetings.

The Conversation demonstrated the success of Oregon's new telecommunications system, Ed-Net. Ed-Net staff members, technology, and site coordinators performed well during this high-profile undertaking.

The planners developed an effective and concise explanation of state and local expenditures and revenue, and that is a major accomplishment. The list of government services, while playing a key role in broadening the discussion to include services as well as taxes, was less informative and satisfying to the participants.

Participants found the local discussions very informative. This finding indicates a useful level of detail in the discussion questions. It also confirms the merit of randomly selecting persistent voters and using volunteer coordinators with well-defined roles.

The statewide reporting and the governor's role as presenter and master of ceremonies were satisfactory, but there are probably improvements that could be made in these crucial aspects of the meeting's format. During the one-meeting discussion, oral reporting included only a small sample of sites, and there was no interaction among them. In a series of meetings, it could be productive to include more oral Ed-Net reporting and more interactive discussion of comments by various sites. An on-going series could also make more extensive use of the participant questionnaires, which were filled out at the end of the meeting.

One could not ask for a chief executive who would be more committed to the Conversation process, clearer in her presentations, or more attentive in her communication with the sites than Governor Roberts. One must look elsewhere for explanations of the below average (though still highly "satisfactory") ratings of her contributions. The explanation may lie in the generally negative opinion of politicians and government, or in the suspicion by some that the Conversation was only

a public-relations effort. On the other hand, the roles of expert presenter and master of ceremonies may be more effective if they were filled by two people. Experimentation with different arrangements in future Conversation-like projects will shed important new light on this question.

Conclusion

Though there are opportunities for improvement, the major contributors to the Ed-Net meetings produced an undoubted technical success in this first conversation of its kind. The Conversation captured the imagination of voters. Future policy discussions involving systematic citizen involvement will benefit greatly from a review of the Oregon experience in initiating the process.

Increasing Knowledge

Most persistent voters came to the Ed-Net meetings feeling only moderately informed about state government and its budget. The accuracy of this observation is reflected in their lack of knowledge of the probable impact of Measure 5. Before the Conversation, few persistent voters realized that 75 percent of the state budget could eventually go to local schools under Measure 5. (More informed voters participated in the Conversation. Before the Ed-Net meeting, 9 percent of participants knew the right answer, but only 5 percent of nonparticipants did.) Persistent voters were better informed about highway and lottery funds, with 61 percent knowing those dedicated funds could not be used to balance the General Fund budget. (Here again, participants came to the Ed-Net meetings slightly better informed than nonparticipants.)

The Ed-Net meeting increased participants' knowledge of state government finance. On both questions, significantly more participants knew the correct answers after the Ed-Net meetings than before. These data support participants' opinions that people at the Ed-Net meeting were learning from each other, the written material, and the governor. In contrast, nonparticipants' scores during the same time period showed no significant change in their understanding of Measure 5 and actually declined on the question about dedicated lottery and highway funds.

The increased knowledge of Conversation participants is one of the most compelling findings of the study. The factors that made the Ed-Net meetings good learning environments will be worth repeating in future undertakings of this type.

Voters still remain seriously uninformed, at least about Measure 5. Even among the persistent voters who had the benefit of the Ed-Net meetings, two-thirds still did not know how much of the state budget would go to local schools under Measure 5, and one-fourth did not know that the dedicated lottery and highway funds are not available to balance the General Fund budget. Other persistent voters are dramatically less informed, and one can only guess about people who vote less regularly.

Conclusion

The historical stalemate in reforming Oregon's tax structure demonstrates the importance of educating the citizenry, and the success of the Conversation in contributing to that process is an important achievement. It reveals the value of an event such as the Ed-Net meetings for informing voters.

Attitudes and Policy Developments

Both before and after the Conversation, persistent voters strongly favored a combination of approaches to Measure 5 based on increased efficiency and tax reform. Participants were emphatic about wanting government to operate more efficiently, and again evidenced their desire to reform taxes. While citizens were learning some of the facts of state budgeting, the governor was hearing how strongly people felt about improving public management.

Governor Roberts' State of the State speech in January and her decision about the timing and content of a tax reform proposal reflected her reading of the Ed-Net meetings. Persistent voters who had voted for Measure 5 especially liked what the governor said about efficiency in her State of the State speech.

When Governor Roberts released her tax reform plan in June, she included more budget cuts and a combination of tax changes. She called the legislature into special session one week later with a request to refer the plan directly to a vote of the people. The leadership refused, citing lack of time to consider it, objecting to a September mail ballot, and complaining of being excluded from their role in developing reform proposals. Subsequently, both the governor and the legislature began developing budgets for the 1993 legislature.

Whether the governor's tax reform package would have survived a 1992 election, we will never know. Neither does this experience tell us whether an extended Conversation process, with several sessions and participant review of proposals, could have led to tax reform. Likewise, we do not know yet whether the governor or the legislature will devise a plan acceptable to the voters.

Persistent voters showed considerable consistency in their opinions about government and politicians. Fifty to seventy percent held the same opinions about government and politicians after the Conversation as before, and the others exhibited off-setting changes. This stability is evident among both Conversation participants and nonparticipants.

The governor's efforts did influence people's judgment about one thing—the Conversation itself. Whether they participated or not, persistent voters were more hopeful after the Conversation that the Conversation would lead to increased government efficiency.

Conclusion

The initial Conversation meeting between the governor and some of the state's most persistent voters let the governor hear their demands for increased efficiency, but it did not lead to changes in voters' opinions or to tax reform. The reason lies in the single meeting of the Conversation groups and in the reaction of traditional players. The Conversation was not generally perceived as adding voters to the policy development process, but as by-passing legislators, administrators, and interest groups.

A Communication Channel

Though it did not solve the state's long-standing tax problems, the Ed-Net meeting did achieve its process goal. **Both the governor and Ed-Net participants thought the Conversation began opening up communications.** Governor Roberts said repeatedly, both in the Ed-Net sessions and elsewhere, that she learned a lot from the Ed-Net meetings about voters' priorities, especially the importance voters place on improving efficiency in government.

While the governor approached the Conversation with enthusiasm, persistent voters were more cautious. Even those who participated were more hopeful than confident about the outcome, and one Ed-Net session was not enough to change their attitude toward government and politicians.

Participants believed the governor heard what they were saying during the Ed-Net meetings. In the survey, two-thirds rated her summary at the end of the meeting satisfactory or excellent. Surveyed after the meetings, 85 percent of the participants said the Conversation offered hope of influencing the governor and legislature, and a similar number thought Roberts' State of the State speech was consistent with what people said in the meetings.

Persistent voters are an active group. They do more than vote regularly, and a process such as the Ed-Net meetings could serve as a communication channel with this group of active voters. Participants benefited from the local discussions at the Ed-Net meetings. During the months of the Conversation, nine out of ten participants also read articles and talked with people about Measure 5, and one-fourth attended meetings where it was discussed. The survey showed that Ed-Net participants were especially likely to talk with their families and friends about Measure 5. The Conversation showed potential for informing and influencing many more voters than could attend the meetings.

Conclusion

The Conversation did not solve the state's financial problems in a single session, nor could it. This first Ed-Net session was appropriately designed for sharing basic information and exchanging

opinions. There are clear signs that both the governor and Conversation participants thought serious communication occurred.

The Conversation had the additional objective of engaging voters in solving problems that were brought to a head by Measure 5. The Conversation helped alert citizens to public finance issues, and participants were especially active in discussions, meetings, and writing to public officials.

Despite a complex topic and general skepticism toward government, persistent voters continued to say that the Conversation offered hope for citizen influence in the policy-making process. If the first steps in solving disputes are to exchange information and understand the other party, then this Ed-Net meeting was a successful first step. Future projects with that goal should include plans for continuing the discussion.

APPENDICES

Appendix A—A Conversation with Oregon (Overview)

A CONVERSATION *with* OREGON

Deciding What We Want and How We Want to Pay For It

THE STAKES ARE HIGH

In the months ahead, Oregonians — by action or inaction — will decide the character of their state for the 1990s and beyond. What kind of place do we want Oregon to be? What level of public services do we want and need? And how should we pay for those services? The answers are critical. Oregon's future is at stake.

Oregonians have been unhappy with their tax system for a long time, but they have never been able to agree on an alternative. Their frustration with rising property tax values and high tax rates boiled over in November, when 52 percent of the voters passed Measure 5, the property tax limit.

Measure 5 does much more than reduce property taxes. Tax levels — and the level of public services — will drop significantly over the next five years. Because the state must replace property tax dollars that schools lose, it reduces the money available to pay for other state services. Measure 5 also limits the money local governments can raise for police, fire, parks and other local services. Altogether, the measure will have a deep effect on the scope and quality of public services and the very character of Oregon for decades.

Measure 5 made it clear that most voters wanted to lower property taxes. But other issues are less clear. How do voters feel about level of public services they receive from schools and governments? Would they support further changes to the tax system? What would those changes be?

Printed on Recycled Paper

LET'S START TALKING

We cannot answer those questions in the halls of Salem. Those decisions will — and must — be made in homes, workplaces and communities across Oregon. Voters want to understand their choices and have real influence.

Right now, the public attitude toward government and public spending is concerned, wary and distrustful. While many citizens believe the tax system must change to maintain the services they want, many also see this as a chance to review government's direction and to cut government duplication and improve efficiency first.

Governor Roberts has already started efforts to improve the effectiveness of state government. Declaring that this is not "business as usual," she froze the number of state managers and asked for a review of every open job slot. She appointed a task force to examine the effectiveness of state government and to reshape it for the 1990s and beyond. She expects to eliminate unnecessary duplication and overlap, and to build accountability and performance measures into every state program.

We need to talk with citizens about other measures to make sure we can provide the services they want and need through a balanced, fair, stable and adequate tax system. The two issues are linked — we can't talk about the tax system without discussing Oregon's public services and its future.

CITIZENS MUST BE INVOLVED

Oregonians will not be "sold" an answer to the state's fiscal problems with a promotional campaign. They want to talk things over, to be involved and consulted. They can do that through A Conversation with Oregon.

The Conversation is based on three assumptions.

- First, that the vast majority of Oregonians share these underlying goals of the state: a strong, diverse economy; a well-educated citizenry; vital communities and a healthy environment.
- Second, that Oregonians are willing to pay for services to achieve those goals if they are convinced that their money is well spent and that taxes are raised fairly.

- Third, that Oregonians want to talk over the tax structure to pay for those services, and that they need information to make informed choices.

Never before in Oregon has such an effort been made to talk with citizens, hear their concerns and provide information. Rather than confront voters with a packaged tax proposal promoted through a media blitz, we will take time to construct a measure that pays for the services Oregonians want, that satisfies their demands, and that gives them the assurances they need.

HOW WE WILL DO IT

By the end of the process, all Oregonians will have had an opportunity to express their views and to receive information needed to reach a conclusion on government spending and taxes.

Governor Roberts kicks off the Conversation in six regional meetings from September 19 through the 22, in Pendleton, Bend, Medford, Salem, Portland and Eugene. Thousands of Oregonians will attend these meetings, which will build a volunteer base for the Conversation.

Right after the Conversation kick-off meetings, the volunteers will conduct one-on-one interviews with community leaders across Oregon. These leaders were identified by others in their communities as people who play an active role in civic life. The volunteers will sit down for half-hour interviews with these leaders, asking about their attitudes about public services, Oregon's future and the tax system. The goal is to complete at least 2,500 of these interviews by the end of October.

In November, the Conversation takes a different form. Hundreds of community workshops will draw at least 20,000 citizens into the Conversation. The Governor will invite randomly selected registered voters to participate, to make sure that she hears from a broad cross section of Oregonians. There also will be opportunities for other citizens to participate on nights that are open to the general public. The Governor will help lead the workshops, and will ask

citizens to give her their thoughts on public services and the tax system. Through the ED-NET system, up to 50 workshops statewide can be linked with the Governor.

In December, the information heard through the interviews and workshops will be summarized. In January and February, Governor Roberts will report back, seeking further input and discussion from at least 100,000 more Oregonians through town hall gatherings, worksite meetings and other means.

When Oregonians reach some basic agreements about their future and about the level of public services they want and need, we will be ready to decide how to pay for those services.

Questions about A Conversation with Oregon?
Call the Governor's Office at 1-800-322-6345.

Appendix B—About Ed-Net

ABOUT OREGON ED-NET ...

Who We Are

Oregon ED-NET is a telecommunications network which extends the benefits of live, interactive *video, voice,* and *computer data communications* to the state as a whole. Educational programs, employee training, and distance meeting services are delivered using a mix of satellite, microwave, telephone and cable television technologies. Oregon ED-NET is a state agency, created in 1989.

What ED-NET Offers

ED-NET provides service over three networks:

Network I is a one-way video, two-way audio, interactive satellite network. Multiple channel Ku-band uplinking facilities are located in Portland, as is the central office, control center, audio bridge system, and support staff. Over 90 Network I receive sites have been installed, with up to 700 planned. Network I completed over 300 hours of live programming in its pilot year of operation.

Network II is a two-way video, audio, and data network utilizing compressed digital video. In addition to being a stand alone network, it will provide Network I origination capabilities at its 39 designated sites throughout the state.

Network III is a statewide dial-up computer network designed to support Networks I and II. It will provide access to bulletin boards, electronic mail, computer conferencing, data bases, and libraries. Network III will be launched in January of 1992.

Membership

As a state agency with a 1994 self-support mandate, ED-NET operates on a fee basis. Organizations join as either receive or origination members. Members include:

- Education, Public and Private
  K-12 - Graduate Levels
- Local, State, and Federal Agencies
- Business and Industry
- Health Care Industry
- Non-profit and Community Organizations
- Professional Associations

A receive-site membership provides a number of services, including the equipment necessary to conduct communications at a distance, and the information, training, and technical assistance to help members use the network.

Origination members receive access to the ED-NET system. ED-NET staff assists in program development, assesses program needs, and encourages collaboration among member organizations with common objectives.

Fees

- **Network I Receive-only Membership**

Organizations that plan to receive and participate in Network I programming from others pay $1500 per site, per year. This fee entitles public/non-profit members to a 2.4-meter, C/Ku-band, steerable satellite dish, interactive talkback system, complete installation, two years of maintenance and access to network programming. For-profit members must provide their own satellite-receive equipment. Organizations that own equipment meeting ED-NET video and audio transmission standards pay $750 per year for membership. Cable access membership costs $400 per site per year; out-of-state membership costs $1000 a year.

(Registration fees for courses, workshops, etc., are paid directly to the organization originating the programming, not Oregon ED-NET.)

- **Origination Membership**

Organizations that send programming over ED-NET pay $4000 per year for unlimited access to either Network I or Network II facilities. Use of the Network I system costs origination members $160 per hour; use of the Network II system costs members between $30-200 per hour, depending on the nature of the program and audience.

- **Trial-Origination Membership**

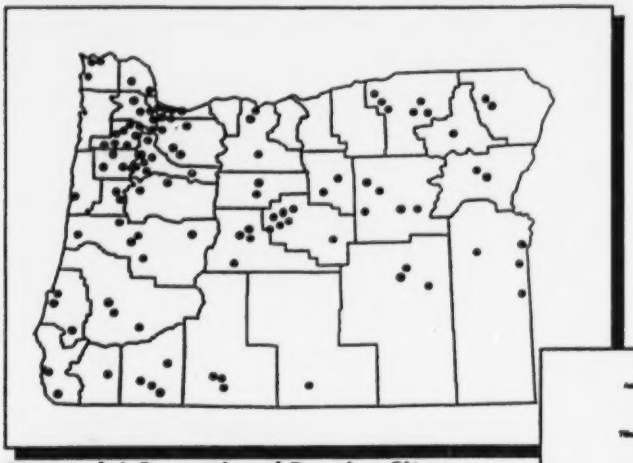
Organizations that would like to experiment with sending programming over ED-NET may do so on a trial basis for $1000, which provides up to 10 hours of network access at the low rates described above in addition to most member benefits.

- **Non-members**

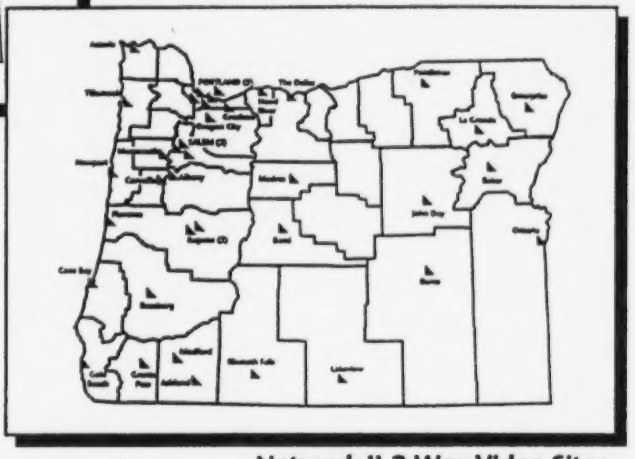
Organizations may use ED-NET as non-members at a different rate schedule: Network I costs are $300 per hour; Network II costs range between $60 and $400 per hour, depending upon the program and audience.

To learn more about Oregon ED-NET, contact us at (503) 293-1992

OREGON ED-NET: Serving All Oregonians



Network I Operational Receive Sites



Network II 2-Way Video Sites

To Learn More About Oregon ED-NET

Contact our office at 503-293-1992 for membership materials or further details. ED-NET representatives are available to meet with you to discuss the benefits of membership for your organization.
Oregon ED-NET is located at:
7140 SW Macadam Avenue, Suite 260,
Portland, Oregon 97219-3013.

PROGRAM NOTES

The following is a sample of programming scheduled over Oregon ED-NET. For a complete listing of courses, please call 503-293-1992.

NETWORK I

Business & Industry
- Therapeutic Pharmaceutical Agents: Optometrist Certification
- The Art of Customer Calling
- An Economic Development Primer for Small Business
- Developing Cooperative Programs and Partnerships

Health Care
- Early Childhood Assessment
- County School and Daycare Immunization Program

Grades K-12
- Marine Science
- Contemporary Issues
- SAT Preparation Workshop
- Oregon School Boards Assn. Fall Conference

Community Colleges
- Japanese
- Pedatric Trauma Care

Higher Education
- The Right to Privacy: A Socratic Dialogue with Fred Friendly
- Topics in American Literature
- American Musical Theater
- History of Western Thought
- Personnel Administration
- Religious Quest
- Organizational Behavior

State Government
- Mental Health and Aging
- Gov. Roberts' Conversation With Oregonians on Taxation Reform
- PERS Health Insurance
- OR-OSHA Health and Safety Conference
- OR-OSHA Safety Committee Workshop

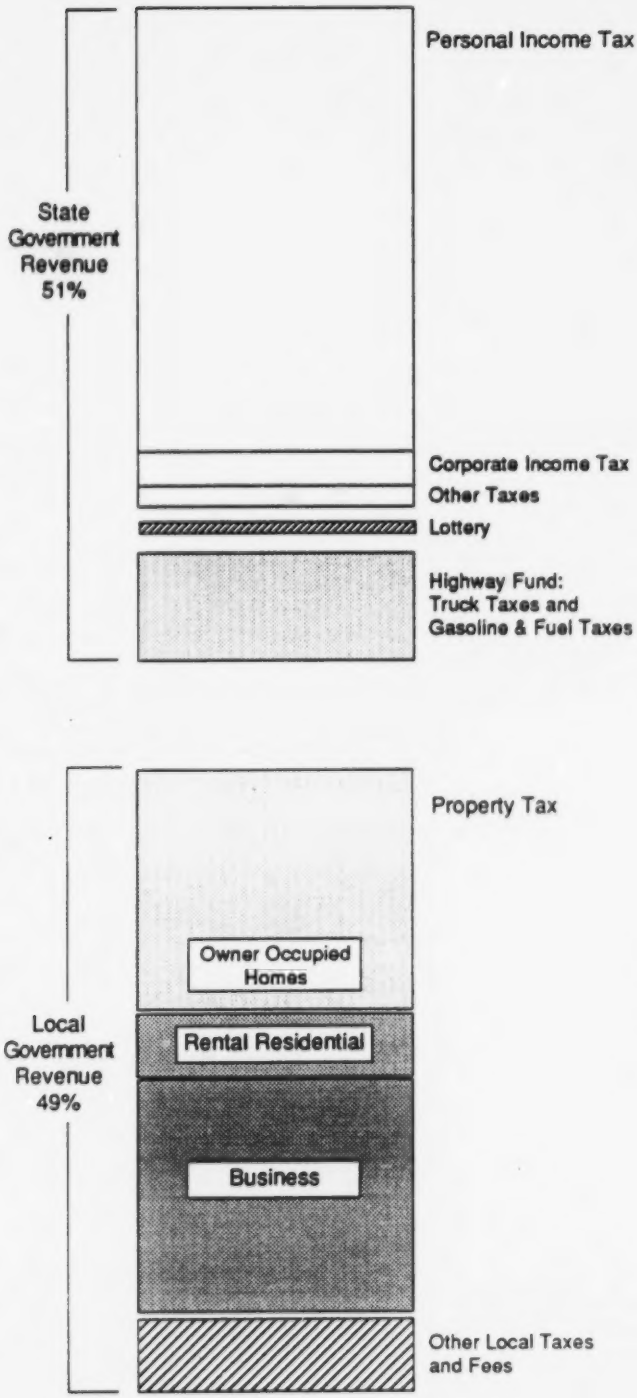
NETWORK II
- Analysis of Business Information
- History of the American Indian
- Community Health Nursing
- Fundamentals of Fire Prevention
- Evaluation and Measurement in the Classroom
- Statistics (MATH 243)

10/91

Appendix C—Ed-Net Meeting Information Materials

Card A

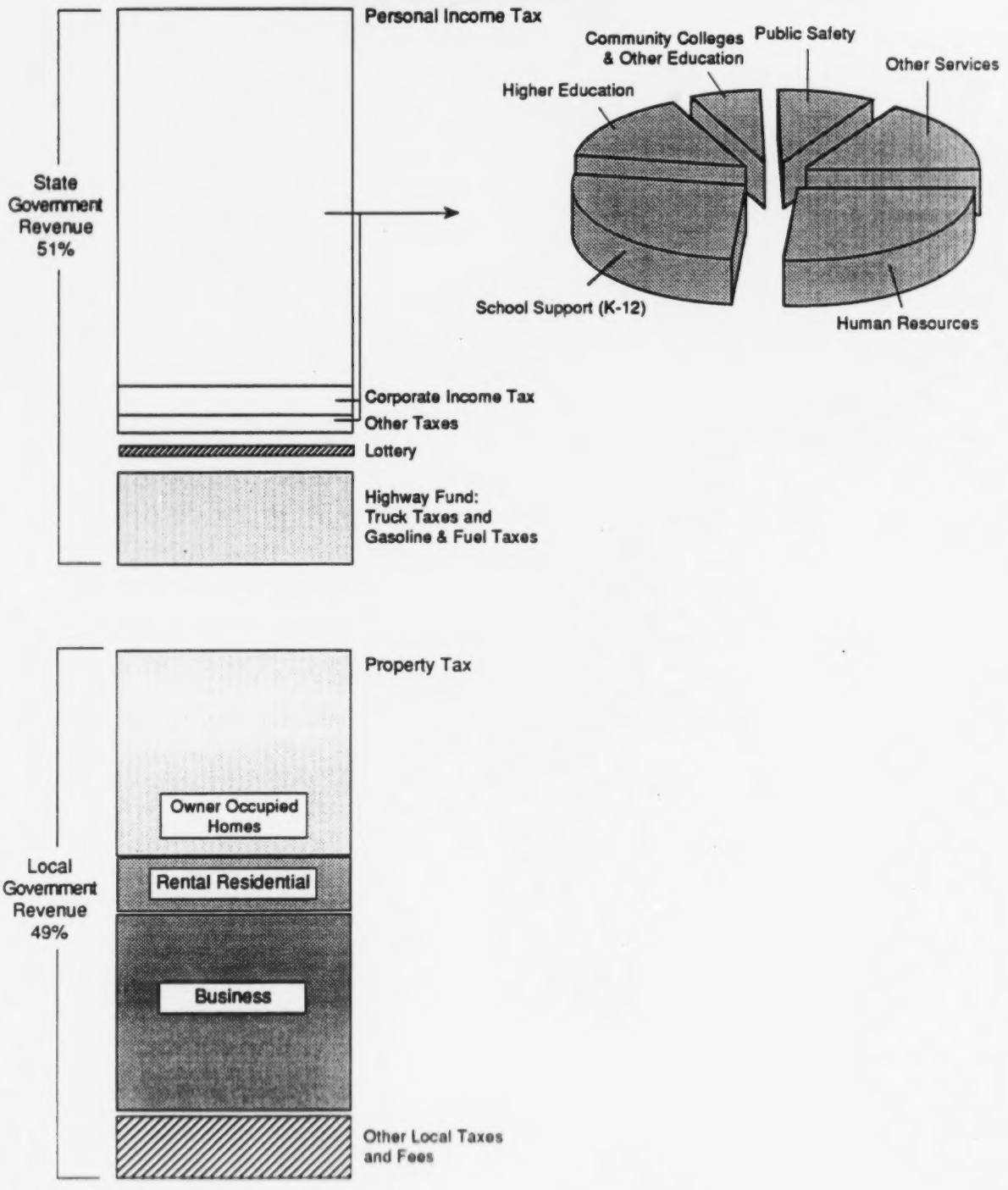
Sources of State and Local Tax Dollars 1989-91



9/13/91

Card B

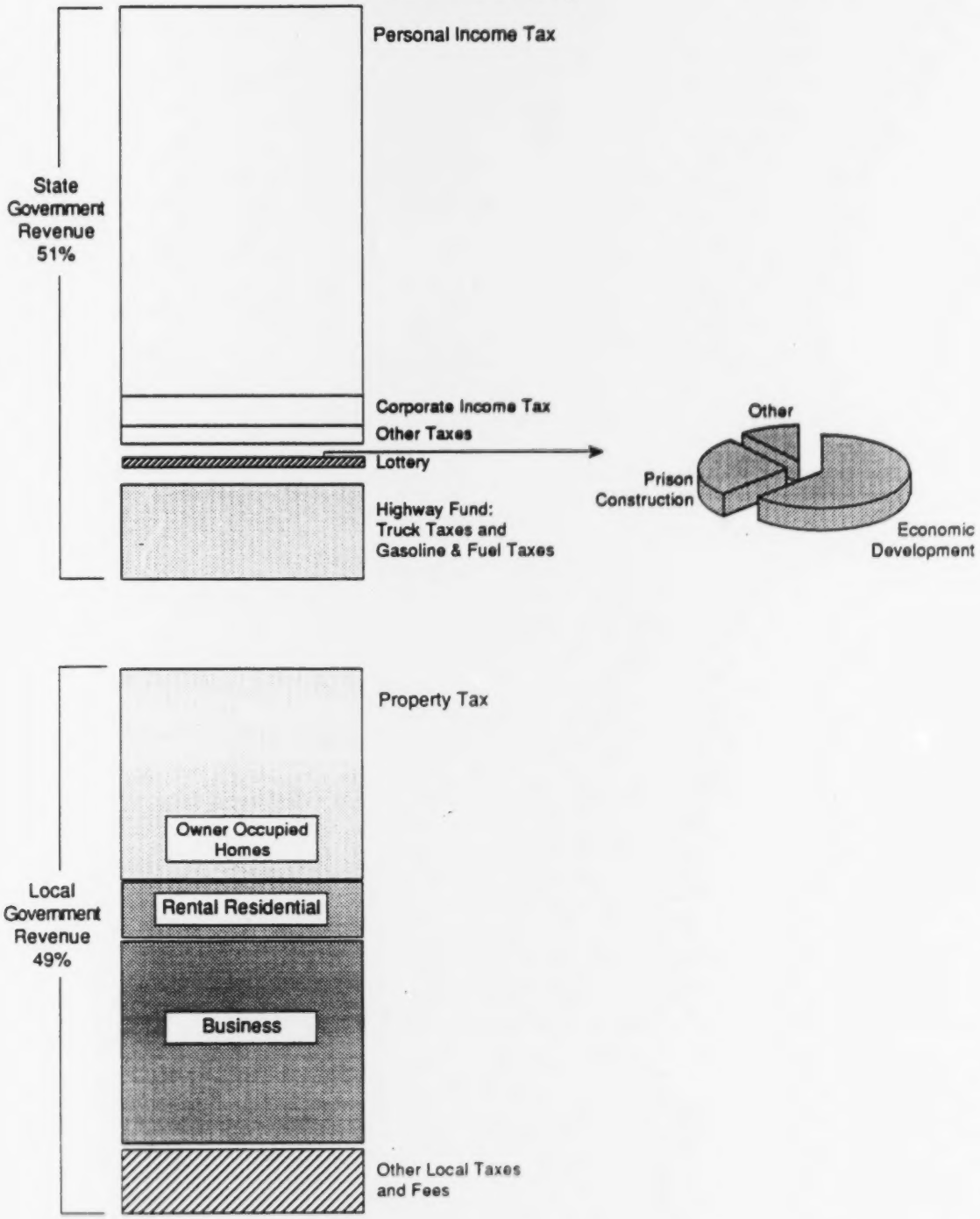
Sources and Uses of State and Local Dollars
State General Fund



9/13/91

Card C

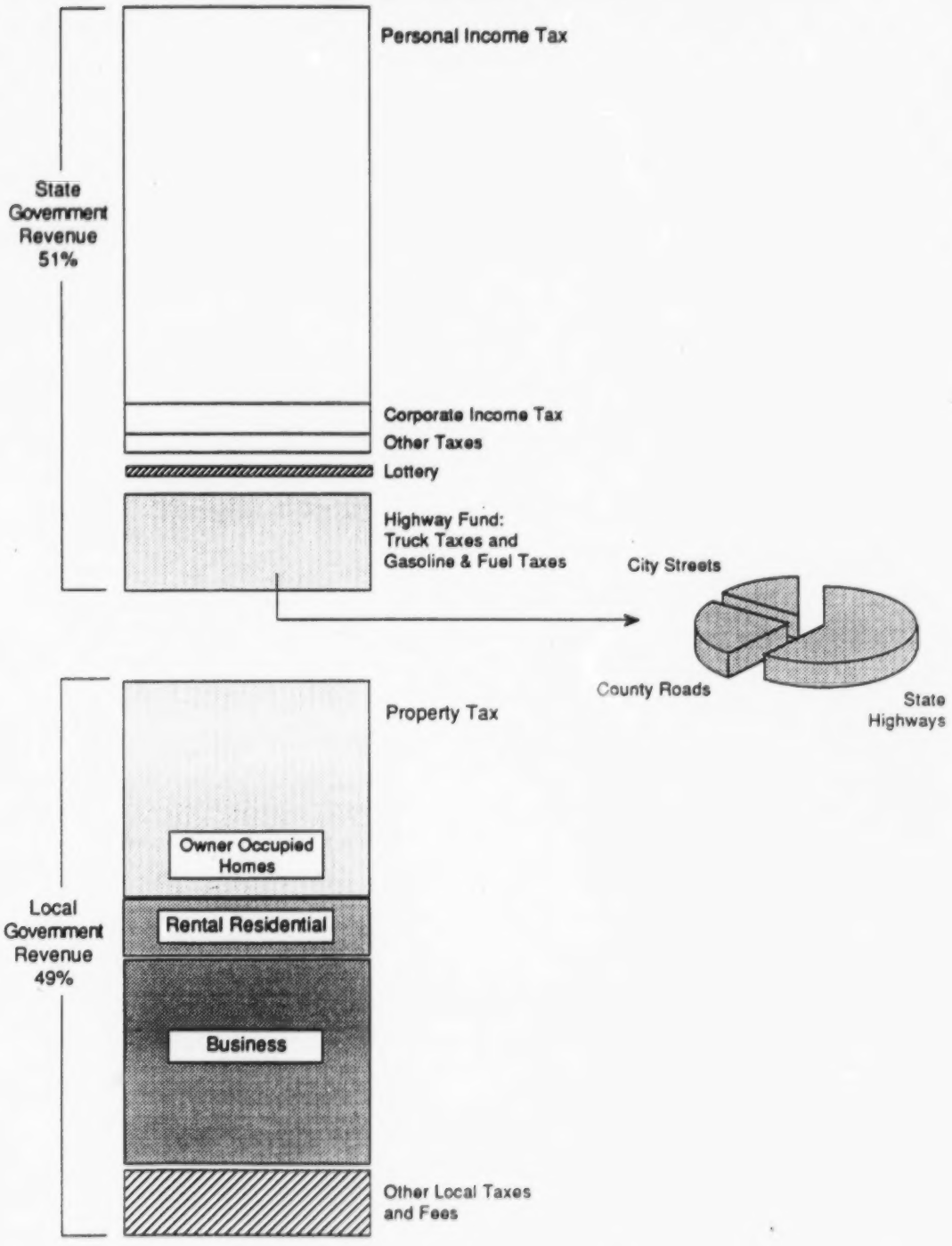
Sources and Uses of State and Local Dollars
State Lottery



9/13/91

Card D

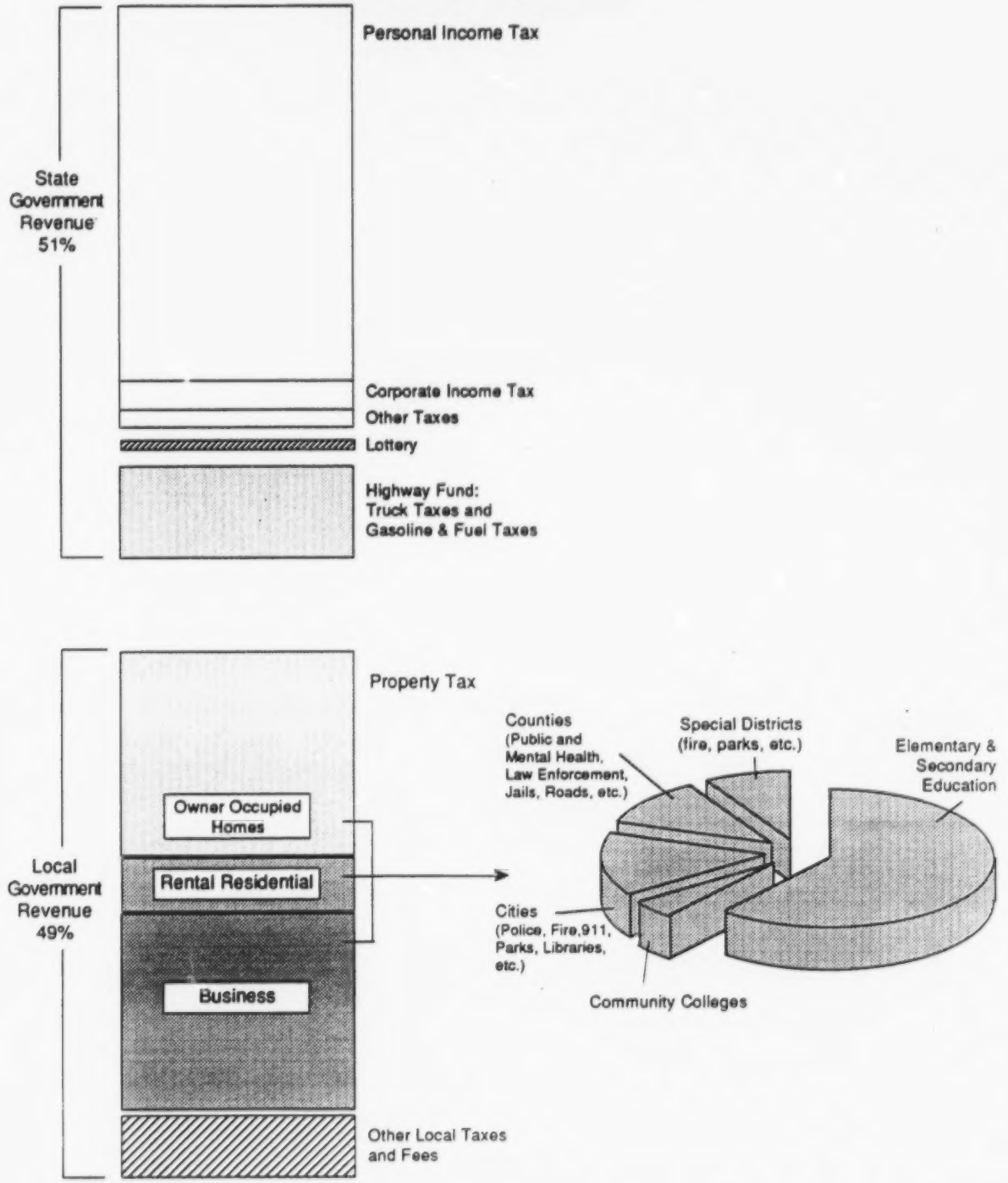
Sources and Uses of State and Local Dollars
State Highway Fund



9/13/91

Card E

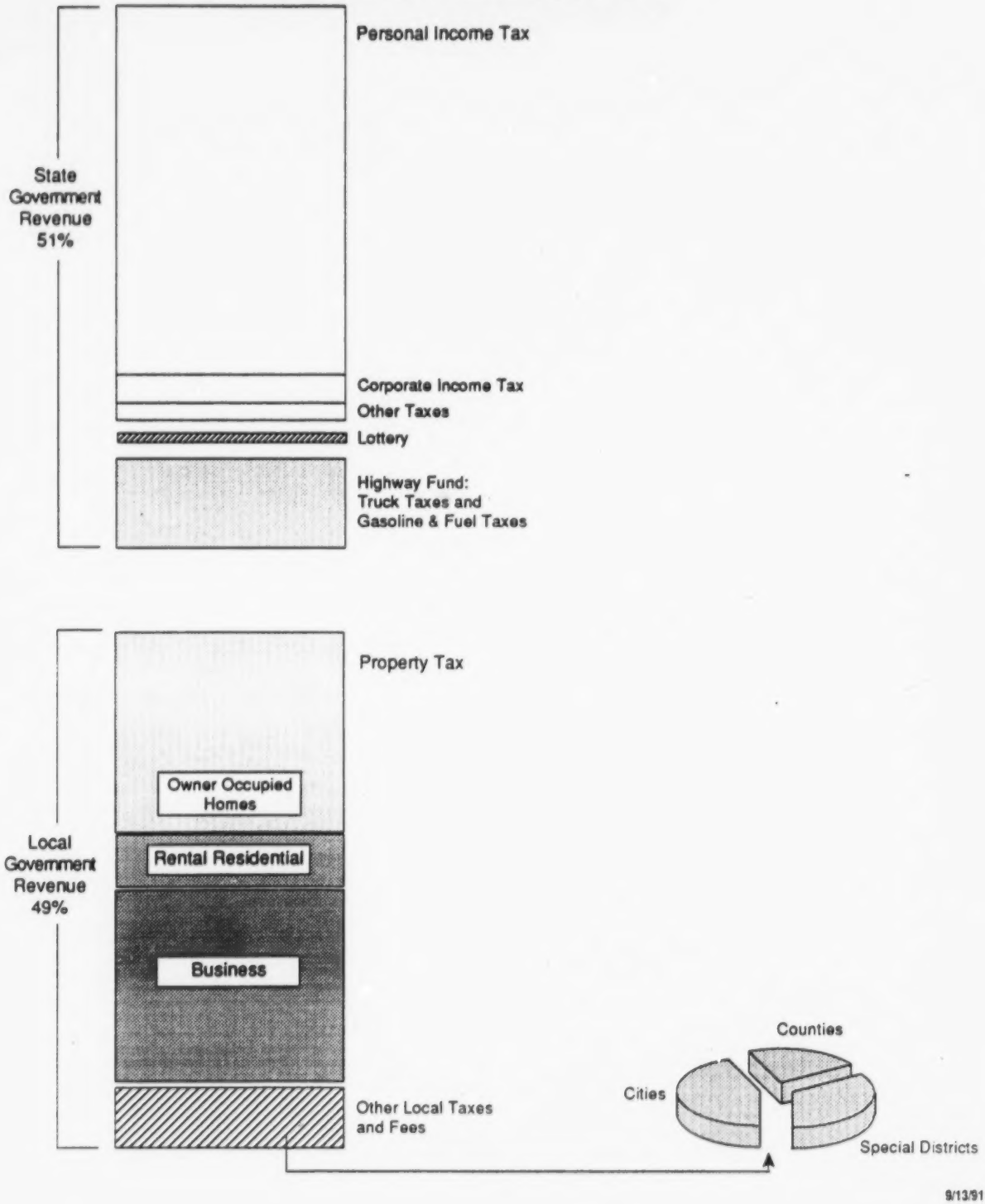
Sources and Uses of State and Local Dollars
Local Property Taxes



5/13/91

Card F

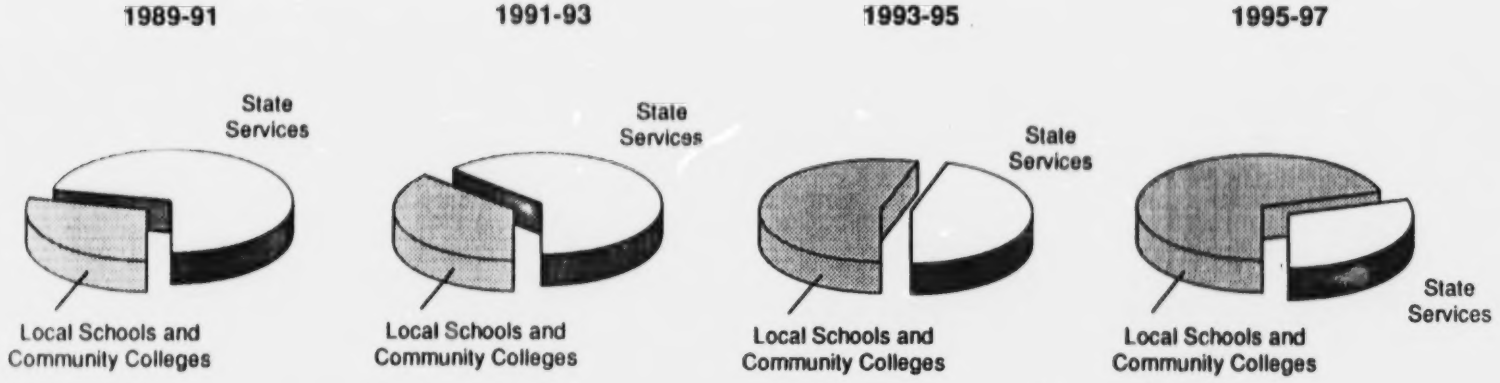
Sources and Uses of State and Local Dollars
Other Local Taxes and Fees



9/13/91

Card G

State General Fund Spending



Card H

State and Local Government Taxes Per Person

Before Measure 5		After Full Implementation of Measure 5	
Alaska	1	Alaska	1
New York	2	New York	2
Connecticut	3	Connecticut	3
New Jersey	4	New Jersey	4
Hawaii	5	Hawaii	5
Massachusetts	6	Massachusetts	6
Maryland	7	Maryland	7
Minnesota	8	Minnesota	8
California	9	California	9
Wisconsin	10	Wisconsin	10
Wyoming	11	Wyoming	11
Delaware	12	Delaware	12
Michigan	13	Michigan	13
Maine	14	Maine	14
Washington	15	Washington	15
Rhode Island	16	Rhode Island	16
Illinois	17	Illinois	17
Vermont	18	Vermont	18
Virginia	19	Virginia	19
Arizona	20	Arizona	20
OREGON	**21**	Nevada	21
Nevada	22	Colorado	22
Colorado	23	Iowa	23
Iowa	24	Pennsylvania	24
Pennsylvania	25	Kansas	25
Kansas	26	Ohio	26
Ohio	27	Nebraska	27
Nebraska	28	Florida	28
Florida	29	Georgia	29
Georgia	30	New Hampshire	30
New Hampshire	31	Indiana	31
Indiana	32	North Carolina	32
North Carolina	33	Texas	33
Texas	34	Montana	34
Montana	35	New Mexico	35
New Mexico	36	Oklahoma	36
Oklahoma	37	North Dakota	37
North Dakota	38	Missouri	38
Missouri	39	**OREGON**	**39**
South Carolina	40	South Carolina	40
Louisiana	41	Louisiana	41
Idaho	42	Idaho	42
Kentucky	43	Kentucky	43
Utah	44	Utah	44
West Virginia	45	West Virginia	45
South Dakota	46	South Dakota	46
Tennessee	47	Tennessee	47
Alabama	48	Alabama	48
Arkansas	49	Arkansas	49
Mississippi	50	Mississippi	50

9/13/91

Card I

Provide fewer government services.

Increase government efficiency.

Restructure Oregon's tax system to provide more money.

Should government spend more, less, or about the same amount on each of the services listed below? We understand that this list is a simplification of something very complex. We'll have a chance to talk about services during the discussion.

	CIRCLE SPENDING LEVEL			
Primary and Secondary Education	More	Less	Same	Don't Know
Community Colleges	More	Less	Same	Don't Know
Higher Education	More	Less	Same	Don't Know
Employment and Training	More	Less	Same	Don't Know
Senior Services	More	Less	Same	Don't Know
Children's Services	More	Less	Same	Don't Know
Services for low income	More	Less	Same	Don't Know
Services for the disabled	More	Less	Same	Don't Know
Health and Mental Health Services	More	Less	Same	Don't Know
Natural Resources Management	More	Less	Same	Don't Know
Environmental Regulation	More	Less	Same	Don't Know
Housing	More	Less	Same	Don't Know
Parks and Recreation	More	Less	Same	Don't Know
Courts, Prisons, and Jails	More	Less	Same	Don't Know
Police	More	Less	Same	Don't Know
Fire and Emergency Services	More	Less	Same	Don't Know
Libraries	More	Less	Same	Don't Know
Small Business Development	More	Less	Same	Don't Know
Tourism and Other State Marketing	More	Less	Same	Don't Know
State Highways	More	Less	Same	Don't Know
International Trade Development	More	Less	Same	Don't Know
Local Roads	More	Less	Same	Don't Know
Mass Transit	More	Less	Same	Don't Know
Drinking Water and Sewer	More	Less	Same	Don't Know

Appendix D—Report Forms and Participant Questionnaires

ED-NET SESSION
MEETING REPORT FORM

Date: _____ Name of Facilitator Moderating Group: _____
Location: _____ Telephone number: _____
Number of Participants: ____ Name of Person Doing Recording: _____
Telephone number: _____

RECORD THE ISSUES RAISED DURING EACH DISCUSSION UNDER THE QUESTION NUMBER. FOLLOWING EACH ISSUE YOU LIST, PLEASE RECORD THE NUMBER OF TIMES IT WAS MENTIONED IN PARENTHESIS. SPACE IS PROVIDED FOR ADDITIONAL COMMENTS.

Question 1: How well do you think state & local government is spending your tax dollars?

Issues Listing:

Comments: _____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Question 2: In general, regarding the level of government services, do you want more, the same or fewer government services?

Tally Results:

Issues Listing:

Comments: _____

Question 3: Which one approach or combination of approaches is best for providing the level of services you want?

Provide fewer government services
Increase government efficiency
Restructure Oregon's tax system to provide more money

Tally (if any) Results:

Issues Listing:

Comments: _____

ERSATION
h OREGON

LABEL **BAR CODE**

1. How informative did you find this meeting? (Circle number)

   1. Very informative
   2. Somewhat informative
   3. Not very informative
   4. Not at all informative
   5. Not sure

Comments: _____

_____

_____

_____

2. Shall we keep you updated on the Conversation with Oregon?

   ____ Yes ____ No

3. Are there questions regarding government services or taxes that you would like to have answered?

_____

_____

_____

_____

Name: _____

Address: _____

_____

Telephone: _____

254 State Capitol. Salem Oregon 97310
1-800-322-6345

Printed on Recycled Paper

CONVERSATION QUESTIONNAIRE

1. How would you characterize your feelings about how well government is spending tax payer dollars: excellent job, good job, fair job, or poor job? (CIRCLE NUMBER)

   Comments:

   1. Excellent job
   2. Good job
   3. Fair job
   4. Poor job
   5. Don't know

2. How would you characterize your feelings about the tax system we currently use to pay for government services: very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied? (CIRCLE NUMBER)

   Comments:

   1. Very satisfied
   2. Somewhat satisfied
   3. Not very satisfied
   4. Not at all satisfied
   5. Don't know

3. As the Governor showed tonight, Measure 5 reduces the amount of money available for state services. Even providing the same level of services won't be possible without some additional money. We talked about some different approaches people have suggested as ways for dealing with this issue. Which one approach or combination of approaches comes closest to how you feel? (CIRCLE EITHER YES OR NO FOR EACH APPROACH)

Provide fewer government services	YES	NO
Increase government efficiency	YES	NO
Restructure Oregon's tax system to provide more money	YES	NO
Other - Specify:_____	YES	NO

   Comments:

4. Do you feel Oregon's tax system needs to be changed? (CIRCLE NUMBER)

   1. Yes
   2. No
   3. Don't know

   If so, what changes would you make:

USE BACK OF PAGE FOR ADDITIONAL COMMENTS.
THANK YOU.

Appendix E—Conversation Questionnaire Summary

DECISION SCIENCES, INC.
MARKET AND PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH

1984 SOUTHWEST SIXTH AVENUE
PORTLAND, OREGON 97201
(503) 220-0575
FAX (503) 220-0576

December 9, 1991

TO: Patricia McCaig

FROM: Adam Davis, Decision Sciences, Inc.

RE: Conversation with Oregon, Ed-Net Exit Interview
Preliminary Report Based On 2,173 Completed Questionnaires

INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

Barbara Roberts' Conversation With Oregon is a process to gather information from community leaders and registered voters pertinent to government spending and the state's tax system. This memorandum considers a one-page survey completed by participants at the end of Ed-Net sessions (i.e., group meetings involving registered voters in a discussion with the Governor and each other). Altogether, 600 sessions were conducted across the state at 80 different locations over a 5 week time span.

Participant Selection And Discussion Format. A goal of 15,000 to 20,000 participants was set prior to project implementation. The goal was lowered to 10,000 to accommodate scheduling, Ed-Net technology, and small group discussion dynamics. Registered voters were randomly selected from voter registration lists, contacted by mail, and RSVP was required to place them on the attendance list.

Each group had a specially trained volunteer moderator. Moderators were responsible for screening for invited persons (others could observe in the rear), establishing and maintaining their side of a two-way communications package with the Governor (Ed-Net downlink satellite and two-way audio link), distributing and collecting handouts, following a discussion topic guide, and facilitating the discussion.

At the end of each session, participants were asked to complete two forms: a registration form which asked them to evaluate the session and a one-page exit questionnaire which consisted of 4 questions The registration forms were returned to the Governor's office where they were processed. The exit survey questionnaires were returned to DSI for processing and analysis. See Appendix A for a copy of the survey.

The preliminary results reported below are based on 2,173 questionnaires. Additional questionnaires will be processed, analyzed, and included in a final report to the Governor in January. This preliminary report, however, is reflective of trends in participants' attitudes that are unlikely to be different in any future reporting.

Statement of Limitations. Any sampling of behavior and attitudes is subject to a margin-of-error, which represents the difference between a sample of a population and the total population. For a sample size of 2,173, if the participants answered a particular question in the proportion of 90% one way and 10% the other way, the margin of error would be ± 1.26%. If they answered 50% each way, the error margin would be ± 2.10%. These plus-minus figures represent the differences between the sample and the total population, at the 95% confidence interval.

Future reporting will draw comparisons with the results of the identical questions from the community leaders survey. It is likely that findings will differ between surveys to some extent, not only because the participants were different (community leaders versus registered voters), but because the situation differed (one-on-one interviews versus group discussions), as did the questionnaires themselves. While all the questions in the exit survey were in the community leaders survey, the latter survey had many additional questions interspersed between the exit survey questions.

General Ratings of Current System

Participants were asked how they would characterize their feelings about how well government is spending their tax dollars. One percent chose excellent job, 16% chose good job, 45% chose fair job, 35% chose poor job, 2% were unsure, and 1% did not respond. See Table 1.

When asked how they would characterize their feelings about the tax system currently used to pay for government services. Two percent of participants chose very satisfied, 26% chose somewhat satisfied, 44% chose not very satisfied, 26% chose not at all satisfied, 1% were unsure, and 2% did not respond. See Table 2.

To Change The System

Respondents read a list of three approaches to handle the expected shortfall in tax dollars under Measure 5. They were asked to choose one approach or a combination of approaches. A plurality of participants chose increasing efficiency and restructuring the tax system (47%), followed distantly by 22% choosing the above two approaches along with providing fewer services (i.e., all three). Two other options reached double digits: There were 14% who favored fewer services and increased efficiency, and 11% favored increased efficiency alone. Importantly, it appears that respondents preferred a multi-faceted approach to addressing issues related to Measure 5 rather than feeling that any one approach alone is the answer. See Table 3.

Considering the results collectively, more than 90% of the respondents felt increasing efficiency had to be an approach and 73% felt restructuring the tax system is necessary alone or in combination with another approach.

Participants were asked if they thought the tax system needs to be changed, and 84% said yes, 8% said no, 6% were unsure, and 3% did not respond. See Table 4.

TABLE 1

RATING GOVERNMENT SPENDING TAX PAYER DOLLARS

Q. How would you characterize your feeling about how well government is spending tax payer dollars: excellent job, good job, fair job, or poor job?

Rating	Percent
Excellent Job	0.8%
Good Job	16.4
Fair Job	45.1
Poor Job	34.9
Don't Know	1.6
No Response	1.2

TABLE 2

RATING FEELINGS ABOUT TAX SYSTEM

Q. How would you characterize your feelings about the tax system we currently use to pay for government services: very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied?

Feelings	Percent
Very Satisfied	1.6%
Somewhat Satisfied	26.2
Not Very Satisfied	44.1
Not At All Satisfied	25.9
Don't Know	0.6
No Response	1.5

TABLE 3

APPROACH FOR DEALING WITH MEASURE 5 ISSUE

Q. As the Governor showed tonight, Measure 5 reduces the amount of money available for state services. Even providing the same level of services won't be possible without some additional money. We talked about some different approaches people have suggested as ways for dealing with this issue. Which one approach or combination of approaches comes closest to how you feel?

Option	Number	Percent
Fewer Services	16	0.7%
Increase Efficiency	232	10.7
Restructure Tax System	97	4.5
Fewer Services and Increase Efficiency	299	13.8
Fewer Services and Restructure Tax System	7	0.3
Increase Efficiency and Restructure Tax System	1,019	46.9
All Three	474	21.8
None of Three	29	1.3

TABLE 4

NEED FOR TAX SYSTEM CHANGE

Q. Do you feel Oregon's tax system needs to be changed?

Option	Percent
Yes	83.8%
No	7.8
Unsure	5.9
No Response	2.5

APPENDIX A

CONVERSATION QUESTIONAIRE

1. How would you characterize your feelings about how well government is spending tax payer dollars: excellent job, good job, fair job, or poor job? (CIRCLE NUMBER)

   Comments:

   1. Excellent job
   2. Good job
   3. Fair job
   4. Poor job
   5. Don't know

2. How would you characterize your feelings about the tax system we currently use to pay for government services: very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied? (CIRCLE NUMBER)

   Comments:

   1. Very satisfied
   2. Somewhat satisfied
   3. Not very satisfied
   4. Not at all satisfied
   5. Don't know

3. As the Governor showed tonight, Measure 5 reduces the amount of money available for state services. Even providing the same level of services won't be possible without some additional money. We talked about some different approaches people have suggested as ways for dealing with this issue. Which one approach or combination of approaches comes closest to how you feel? (CIRCLE EITHER YES OR NO FOR EACH APPROACH)

Provide fewer government services	YES	NO
Increase government efficiency	YES	NO
Restructure Oregon's tax system to provide more money	YES	NO
Other - Specify:_____	YES	NO

   Comments:

4. Do you feel Oregon's tax system needs to be changed? (CIRCLE NUMBER)

   1. Yes
   2. No
   3. Don't know

   If so, what changes would you make:

USE BACK OF PAGE FOR ADDITIONAL COMMENTS.
THANK YOU.

A CONVERSATION *with* OREGON

Contact: Patricia McCaig, 378-3111
Sarah Carlin Ames, 378-3121

December 12, 1991

CITIZENS DEMAND EFFICIENCY BEFORE TAX RESTRUCTURING

Nine out of 10 Oregonians who participated in A Conversation With Oregon think state government should become more efficient as part of its response to Measure 5, according to preliminary results released Thursday.

And three out of four participants said they would consider restructuring the tax system to maintain government services -- but almost all said they want to see increased efficiency first.

Governor Barbara Roberts discussed the level of state services and how to provide them with about 10,000 Oregonians this fall in ED-NET meetings. Results from more than 2,000 questionnaires have been tabulated so far, and the trends are expected to hold as the rest of the questionnaires are analyzed.

"I talked with 10,000 Oregonians, and I listened to them," Governor Roberts said. "They learned more about how state government works, and I learned about what they expect from government. They have sent a clear message: We in government must do our job better. That will be the starting point for my efforts."

Overwhelmingly, participants said the meetings were worthwhile when asked for an evaluation on their registration forms: 87 percent of the participants said the ED-NET meeting was "very informative" or "somewhat informative."

The exit questionnaire asked participants which of the following approaches -- or which combination of approaches -- they would follow to deal with Measure 5: provide fewer services, increase government efficiency, and restructure Oregon's tax system to provide more money.

(MORE)

254 State Capitol, Salem Oregon 97310
1-800-322-6345

Printed on Recycled Paper

In the first 2,000 questionnaires tallied, 93 percent of participants said that increasing government efficiency should be part of the solution to Measure 5 -- whether alone or in combination with other approaches. And 74 percent chose restructuring the tax system as part of their solution, while only 37 percent favored providing fewer services in their solution. (Table 3)

"The Conversation confirms my faith in Oregonians," Governor Roberts said. "They know there is not one easy answer to providing state services. They looked at the information about state services, they discussed the issues, they told me what they think and now they're waiting to see if I heard them. Well, I did hear them. And now it's my job to take action."

Results from other questions confirmed that Oregonians are dissatisfied with government spending and the tax system. Four out of five participants said state and local government was doing a "fair" or "poor" job spending tax dollars. (Table 1) And seven out of 10 said they were "not very satisfied" or "not at all satisfied" with the tax system. (Table 2)

Asked if they felt the tax system needs to be changed, 84 percent -- six out of seven participants -- said "yes." Only 8 percent said the tax system did not need to change. (Table 4)

"Before we restructure our tax system, we have a lot of work to do," she said. "If we can't show Oregonians that we are working more efficiently, they'll tune out any discussion about restructuring our tax system. We might as well save our breath. We must, and will, show Oregonians that we in state government are doing our job better -- that's the bargain."

- 30 -

Appendix F—Governor's State of the State Address

BARBARA ROBERTS
GOVERNOR

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
STATE CAPITOL
SALEM, OREGON 97310-0370
TELEPHONE: (503) 378-3111

State of the State Address

January 23, 1992

Good evening.

I want to thank you for joining me here tonight in the Capitol and also those of you watching and listening at home.

A year ago, I stood in this chamber and took the oath of office as your Governor.

I spoke to you then of my hopes and dreams for Oregon, my plans for my administration, and my commitment to rebuild the partnership between citizens and their government.

I stand before you now, a year later, another year wiser and definitely another year older.

And tonight, I want to share with you what I've learned in this year. And I want to talk with you about Oregon's future and the role of state government in that future.

And as I talk about Oregon's future, it is not merely some abstract idea.

Oregon is the only state in this nation that has set Benchmarks for its progress -- measurable goals that track our success. We know where we are now, and where we want to be over the next 20 years. We will measure ourselves against specific targets like reducing teen pregnancy and high school dropouts, providing housing and health care, and creating good jobs. We have set high standards, because our future depends on it.

Oregon's future depends on men and women who are the best educated and best prepared in America.

Our future depends on a workforce that is fully employed, and earning good wages. In less than 20 years, our workforce must be equal to any in the world.

Oregon's future depends on a diverse economy. Our new economic diversity has produced stability for our state even during this national downturn. We must stay on that path.

We must respect the critical role that our small businesses play in Oregon. We must respect our natural resources if we are to thrive in the future. We must consider profits and workers with equal respect. And that climate of respect and economic opportunity must extend to all Oregonians.

Our diversified economy must include a diversified workforce. Our future depends on it.

Oregonians should live and work in an environment that meets our needs, challenges our intellect and nourishes our spirit.

Our communities must be safe, our people must be healthy, and every Oregonian must have a home.

And if Oregon is to meet the needs of all of our people, we must not respond to major challenges with Band-Aids.

And in this past year, we have made major strides toward innovative, long-range solutions.

A year ago, I spoke from this podium of a new plan to prepare our workforce for the future. And today, Oregon's new Workforce Quality Council is at work. The Housing Trust Fund I proposed will soon announce its first awards to expand badly needed affordable housing in our state.

And during this year, your Oregon Legislature stepped up to the plate on major challenges for Oregon -- education reform, health care reform and light rail.

While most other states are still hesitating or debating, we are implementing. Oregon's laws and visions are becoming national blueprints.

Oregon has rejected the short-sighted fix for the long-term remedy.

It's clear our vision for a better Oregon has not changed.

But the role your government plays in delivering that vision has changed.

3

Because government is not an end in itself. It is the result of a contract with the people to achieve a common vision. And it only works if that contract is built on a foundation of trust.

Believing in that contract, I spent countless hours in 1991 in conversations with the people of this state.

I asked Oregonians -- many of you in this room -- what you thought of your government. I asked how you felt about the job we do, about the services you want and need.

Nowhere else in the nation has there been such direct involvement between citizens and their government. Only in Oregon.

And the messages were clear.

First, you have lost confidence in your political leaders. You don t believe we hear you any more.

Well, I listened, and I heard you.

Oregonians are frustrated.

You don't think we spend your tax dollars well.

You want a more efficient government.

You want better delivered services.

And yet, beyond the frustration, in spite of the distrust, you delivered another important message -- Oregonians care about Oregon. You want quality schools, you believe in investing for a healthier future, you know prevention must be a high priority, and you do not want to turn your back on Oregonians in need.

But the bottom line is that you want to know that the taxes you pay are being spent well and that they will make a real difference.

The time has come for change -- across the board. All governments must act to rebuild your confidence, not just in state government but in your schools, in your cities and in your counties. Governments must become more accountable to Oregonians.

In many other states, political leaders are being dragged kicking and screaming into change. They are caught by surprise in the painful chaos and are unable to set a clear course for their future.

I don't intend to let that happen here. I'm going to lead Oregon through the change.

Last June, I started a two-part review of state government. I appointed a Task Force to scrutinize state operations, including representatives from business, local government, labor and non-profit organizations. And internally, employees reviewed state programs and priorities with citizen help. I wanted this dual effort to look at state government with new eyes, and to recommend improvements.

After almost 133 years of state government, one thing is clear -- if you took a clean sheet of paper and tried to sketch out an orderly, effective, efficient form of government, you would not draw what exists today in Oregon.

I have now received at my desk more than 250 proposals from those efforts to reshape state government.

It feels as if this examination may well become the "Lobbyist Full Employment Act." It seems that for every proposal I've received, I get a knock at my door, and letters and telephone calls -- begging me to look the other way, to protect someone's particular program or commission, their special corner of the world.

Well, if I responded to every plea for the status quo, I wouldn't be able to make a single change to state government. I wouldn't be able to move Oregon toward its future, and I wouldn't be able improve our operations.

It just can't work that way.

It is time for a reality check.

I will press on with restructuring and efficiencies, even though I know this will cause controversy. Change brings turmoil, but it is the only way to bring progress.

Obviously, some proposals need further development and input before I accept or reject them. But already, I know many are worth pursuing.

Within my authority as Governor, I will act on some of those proposals immediately. Other improvements will require revisions to our laws, and must have the Legislature's support. I will submit bold, far-reaching changes to the Legislature. I will propose restructuring, consolidations and eliminations that will allow us to deliver our vision more efficiently and with greater focus.

I will aggressively pursue this agenda. And I must have your support.

Tomorrow, I will begin merging the Executive Department and the General Services Department. We can eliminate administrative duplication and save approximately $1 million by moving to one central support agency for state government.

5

I am also supporting the Department of Transportation's aggressive new efforts to restructure their agency. They will cut their administrative costs, saving millions of dollars, and will still deliver better services to Oregonians.

I am supporting many of the recommendations to consolidate Human Resources agencies. Instead of building artificial barriers between their service agencies, we can coordinate our programs to best help the customer -- the Oregon child, senior citizen or family in need. Restructuring alone can save millions of dollars.

We can also cut the number of Natural Resource agencies in half, making logical connections as we wisely manage our resources and protect our environment. These changes make good sense. And we will still have strong citizen commissions helping to set natural resource policies for Oregon.

Finally, I support the concept of making our education system -- from pre-kindergarten through university programs -- one seamless process. Our public schools, community colleges, and our higher education institutions must work hand in hand for the common good of our students. And I want a thorough discussion of consolidating the entire education system under one Board of Regents and its impact on the delivery of education, particularly at the local level.

These five proposals -- the first of many I will announce in the next few months -- represent positive changes for Oregon.

But there are other proposals that I will not accept.

I will not move to abolish the Oregon Liquor Control Commission. This proposal saves no money. And with less state control, we will have more law enforcement problems, more car accidents and more alcohol abuse. This is not in Oregon's best interest.

Nor will I support abolishing the Veterans Home Loan program. The Department has turned around its loan operation so it is now more productive than mahy private operations -- a real success story.

And as I keep evaluating these proposals to streamline government, I must also look at our hundreds of boards and commissions.

I started in state government as a volunteer on the State Advisory Committee for Emotionally Handicapped Children. I know the contributions our citizen boards and commissions make -- they give Oregonians a voice and give our government new insights.

But it is time to clean out the attic of state government.

We now have more than 300 boards and commissions. We must ask if a board that made sense in 1952 still makes sense in 1992.

In the last 15 years, the Legislature has added 82 new boards and commissions. Yet in those same years, since 1977, the Legislature's Sunset Review Process that examines the on-going value of these boards has eliminated only two -- the Watchmakers and the Auctioneers.

I have already identified 29 boards and commissions to eliminate.

Over the next few months, I will continue to review our state agencies, boards and commissions for further consolidations and eliminations. I am sure I can find at least 50 more boards and commissions in the next six months that can be eliminated.

But the change will not stop there.

This afternoon, I met with state employees to give them one of the toughest messages I have ever delivered.

After listening to Oregonians, and after a year overseeing state government, I have come to believe that we can, and must, give Oregonians better service for their dollar.

Government is going to work better. Government is going to work smarter. And government is going to work with fewer employees.

I will cut 4,000 jobs from state government in this budget period.

And I will start immediately.

About half of those jobs will come from reducing administration in all agencies across state government. I will eliminate roughly one out of every four administrative positions.

We will empower our workers. We will encourage team work and allow front-line workers to make more decisions. We can do the job with fewer managers.

But I won't cut only administration. I will eliminate roughly 2,000 more jobs, most of necessity, from our largest budgets, human resources, education and public safety. We will be selective, working to minimize the impact on government services to Oregonians.

Some of the 4,000 jobs will be cut as people leave state government. Some will be cut as people retire. Some of those will be cut from positions that are vacant. And some of those cuts mean people will lose their jobs.

7

I took this message to state employees across Oregon today because I believed they deserved to hear it directly from me. The people who work for your state government work hard, and they care tremendously.

For some Oregonians, this is simply a message of cuts and downsizing. For me, it is a message of people -- and families.

I did not make this decision lightly. And for all of us, the difficult choices are far from over.

In a few days, we will begin putting our next two-year budget together.

I will instruct state agencies to prepare for a $1 billion reduction caused by Ballot Measure 5. As the property tax limitation phases in over these five years, state government will face massive new obligations as the law shifts local school funding from property taxes onto the shoulders of state government.

The cost was $550 million in this budget. It will be an additional $1 billion in 1993-95. And the cost will rise to $2.5 billion in 1995-97.

State government must budget with the money we have.

Our budget will include the efficiencies I've announced today . . . and more. We will set priorities and we will focus the money on services that do the most to meet the pressing needs of Oregon.

But let me be clear -- all our efficiency measures, our consolidations and 4,000 fewer jobs will not be enough.

One billion dollars is a lot of money.

Let me give you an example -- and hear me now, this is just an example, not a proposal. Higher Education's share of $1 billion would be about $138 million. We could close Western Oregon State College, Southern Oregon State, Eastern Oregon State and the Oregon Institute of Technology, and we would still have to find another $40 million in Higher Education.

And Higher Ed is only one part of state government.

In some programs, we will be looking at cuts now that will result in long-term savings.

In other programs, we will be considering cuts now that will result in massive, long-term costs.

8

Part of my job will be to share with you the same information and budget choices I'm facing in the upcoming months. I want to continue to talk with you about spending, about revenues, and about the impacts on people.

But after all of this, some of you are still wondering if I have a hidden agenda.

"Does she really just mean more taxes?"

Look, I'm not going to try to fool you. For years, I've supported the need to restructure Oregon's tax system -- to build in fairness, to update it, to straighten out the property tax mess and to find a stable way to fund our schools. And I still want to see that happen.

And so do many Oregonians.

But first things first.

I'll show you we're not afraid to change. We must prove we can do a better job with the money you're sending us before we talk about restructuring our tax system.

We will not satisfy Oregon's needs and we will not realize Oregon's great promise unless we all face our challenges and opportunities together.

When I ran for Governor, I promised I would work hard and that I would never take Oregonians for granted.

I believe in Oregonians. I believe in that contract between people and their government.

We will rebuild government's credibility, and as your governor, I will earn your trust.

Appendix G—Telephone Interview Questionnaires

Mar%Stat Job 91-1308-864 Interviewer_____ Group: 1( ) Accepted
2( ) Refused
3( ) Not invited

Number Called_____ Date_____ Time_____ ( ) am ( ) pm
(confirm for validation)

"Hello, May I speak to _____. Hello, _____, I'm _____, with Mar%Stat Research. We are conducting an independent research project for the Center for Advanced Technology & Education at the University of Oregon. Let me assure you I am not selling anything. We are asking Oregonians their opinions about state government. Your name has been chosen at random from among a statewide list of persons who have been contacted concerning participation in an Ed-Net session for the Governor's "Conversations with Oregon." Will you take a just few minutes to share *your* opinions and feelings with me? Let me emphasize that this survey is a University of Oregon project. Your opinions are confidential. Thanks. I'll be brief."

STATEWIDE "GOVERNMENT ISSUES" SURVEY

1. **How much influence do you think people like you can have on state and local government? Would you say a LOT, a MODERATE amount, or PRACTICALLY NONE at all?**
   1( ) A LOT
   2( ) a MODERATE amount
   3( ) PRACTICALLY NONE
   4( ) None at all *(only if volunteered)*
   88( ) DK
   99( ) Ref.

2. **How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Oregon to do what is right? Just about ALWAYS, MOST of the time, or only SOME of the time.**
   1( ) ALWAYS
   2( ) MOST of the time
   3( ) SOME of the time
   4( ) None of the time *(only if volunteered)*
   88( ) DK
   99( ) Ref.

3. **Generally, how good a job do you think Barbara Roberts is doing as Governor of Oregon? Would you say VERY good, GOOD, FAIR, or POOR?**
   1( ) VERY good
   2( ) GOOD
   3( ) FAIR
   4( ) POOR
   88( ) DK

4. **I am going to read two statements. As I read each one, please tell me if you AGREE strongly or somewhat, or DISAGREE strongly or somewhat with the statement.** *(Probe for opinion. Circle number that fits response. Circle DK only if volunteered.)*

	AGREE STRONGLY	AGREE Somewhat	DISAGREE Somewhat	DISAGREE STRONGLY	Don't Know
a. Public officials care very much about what people like me think.....	1	2	3	4	5
b. Sometimes politics and government seem too complicated for people to understand.....	1	2	3	4	5

These next questions are about the Governor's "Conversations with Oregon" that are being transmitted at various locations around the State.

5. **First, have you heard or read anything about the Governor's "Conversations with Oregon?"** *(Because of your list, we do not expect you to receive a NO or DK, but it could happen. Ask Q.6 anyway.)*
   1( ) Yes
   2( ) No
   3( ) Don't remember

6. **I am going to read two more statements. As I read each one, please tell me if you AGREE strongly or somewhat, or DISAGREE strongly or somewhat, with the statement.** *(Probe for opinion. Circle number that fits response. Circle DK only if volunteered.)*

	AGREE STRONGLY	AGREE Somewhat	DISAGREE Somewhat	DISAGREE STRONGLY	Don't Know
a. Based on what I know so far about the Ed-Net "Conversations with Oregon," I would say that they aren't perfect, but they offer some hope that citizens will have an influence on what the governor and legislature do about taxes.....	1	2	3	4	5
b. The Governor's Ed-Net "Conversations with Oregon," is a waste of time.....	1	2	3	4	5

7. **People have different opinions about the "Conversations with Oregon." Some people feel that the political leaders already know what they want to do and that the conversation is mostly a public relations effort. Others feel that the political leaders are really looking for ideas, and will use them to decide what to do. Which is closest to how *you* feel?** *(Read options again if necessary. Check appropriate response. Do not read DK, or No Opinion as an option.)*

1( ) Political leaders already know what they want to do; the "conversations" are mostly a public relations effort.

2( ) The political leaders are really looking for ideas and will use them to decide what to do.

88( ) *(Don't read)* DK/NO Opinion

8. **How would you rate the chances that the televised "Conversations with Oregon" will lead to greater EFFICIENCY in the way state government spends its money? Use a rating scale of zero to 10, with "10 being extremely likely and "0" being not likely at all.** *(Circle rating given. Probe. Accept DK as a last resort.)*

Extremely likely< < < **10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0** > > Not likely at all DK

9. **Using the same scale - zero to 10 - how would you rate the chances that the "Conversations with Oregon" will eventually lead to an IMPROVEMENT in Oregon's present tax structure?** *(Circle rating given. Probe. Accept DK as a last resort.)*

Extremely likely< < < **10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0** > > Not likely at all DK

10. **How informed do you feel you are about state government and its budget? Would you describe yourself as being WELL informed, SOMEWHAT informed, or NOT VERY well informed?**

1( ) WELL informed 3( ) NOT VERY informed
2( ) SOMEWHAT informed 88( ) DK

11. **In the past seven days, have you had any discussion with other people about Measure 5? This is the property tax limitation that was voted in last year.**

1( ) Yes
2( ) No 88( ) Don't remember

12. **About how much of the state government budget do you think will go to pay for the public schools when Measure 5 is fully phased in? Would you say about 25%, about 50%, or about 75%?**

1( ) 25% 3( ) 75%
2( ) 50% 88( ) DK

13. **Measure 5 shifts money from state services to public schools. There are several different approaches people have suggested as ways for dealing with this issue. I am going to mention some of these approaches. Which one approach, or combination of approaches, comes closest to how you feel? Please answer Yes or No for each one.** *(Read each one and secure an answer before continuing. Circle appropriate response. Respondent may answer "Yes" to more than one. Try not to be satisfied with DK.)*

	YES	NO	DK
a. Provide fewer government services.....	1	2	88
b. Increase government efficiency.....	1	2	88
c. Restructure Oregon's tax system to provide more money....	1	2	88
d. Other approach? (specify)_____..	1		

14. **The way the tax system is now, could we use lottery money and highway funds to deal with Measure 5?**

1( ) Yes
2( ) No 88( ) DK

15. **If a vote on Measure 5 were held TODAY would you vote FOR or AGAINST it?**

1( ) Yes
2( ) No 88( ) DK

Finally, I'd like to ask you a few questions about yourself so that we can tabulate results by different types of people in preparing a statistical report. All information is, of course, strictly confidential.

16. I'm going to read some broad age groups. Please stop me when I mention the group that includes your age at your last birthday.

1( ) 18 - 24 3( ) 35 - 44 5( ) 55 - 64
2( ) 25 - 34 4( ) 45 -54 6( ) 65 or over 99( ) Ref.

17. Do you rent or own your home?

1( ) Rent 2( ) Own 3( ) Other situation 99( ) Ref.

18. What is the highest level of school you have had the opportunity to complete?

1( ) K - 6 (elementary 4( ) 13 - 15 (some college or post-high school training)
2( ) 7 - 12 (some H.S. 5( ) 16 Years (Bachelor's degree)
3( ) 12 years (H.S. grad 6( ) 17 or more (graduate school) 99( ) Ref

19. How long have you lived in Oregon? _____years.

19-a. Have you lived in any other state for more than a year during your adult life?

1( ) Yes 2( ) No

120. Do you have any school age children - that is, children 5 through 18?

1( ) Yes
2( ) No

21. Are you currently employed full-time or part-time, going to school, a homemaker, retired - or what is your current situation?

1( ) Employed full time *(ask 21-a* 5( ) Retired *(go to 22)*
2( ) Employed part time *(ask 21-a* 6( ) Student in school or college *(go to 22)*
3( ) Employed, but temporarily not working due to illness, vacation or strike *(ask 21a)* 7( ) Homemaker *(go to 22)*
97( ) Other (specify) _____ *(go to 22)*
4( ) Unemployed, laid off, looking for work *(ask 21a)* 99( ) Ref. *(go to 22)*

21-a Do you work for a private business, a public employer, for a private, not for profit, organization, or do you run your own business? *(If respondent is looking for work, ask "Are you looking for work with....."*

1( ) Private business 3( ) Private, non-profit
2( ) Public employer 4( ) Run own business

22. I have some very broad income groups. When I come to the one that, according to your best estimate, represents your total household income before taxes, please stop me.

1( ) Under $20,000 4( ) $40,000 - $49,999
2( ) $20,000 - $29,999 5( ) $50,000 - $74,999
3( ) $30,000 - $39,999 6( ) $75,000 or over
99( ) Ref.

23. Incidentally, when you voted at the polls in November, 1990, did you vote for or against Measure 5?

1( ) For 3( ) Didn't vote
2( ) Against 99( ) Ref.

24. *(Interviewer: Record Gender)*

1( ) Male
2( ) Female

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR HELP. I REALLY APPRECIATE YOUR SHARING YOUR OPINIONS AND FEELINGS.

(VALIDATION INFO ON BACK)

Mar%Stat Job 92-1308-866 Interviewer_____ Group: 1( ) Previously Interviewed
1( ) Participated EdNet
2( ) Non- Participant
2( ) Previously Ref. Interv.
3( ) Control List

1( ) BEFORE speech
2( ) AFTER speech

( ) am
Number Called_____ Date_____ Time_____ ( ) pm
(confirm for validation)

"Hello, May I speak to _____. Hello, _____, I'm _____, with Mar%Stat Research. We are conducting an independent research project for the Center for Advanced Technology & Education at the University of Oregon. Let me assure you I am not selling anything. We are asking Oregonians their opinions about state government. Your name has been chosen at random from among a statewide list of persons who have been contacted about the Governor's "Conversations with Oregon" project. Will you take a just few minutes to share *your* opinions and feelings with me? Let me emphasize that this survey is a University of Oregon project. Your opinions are confidential. Thanks. I'll be brief."

STATEWIDE "GOVERNMENT ISSUES" SURVEY

1. **How much influence do you think people like you can have on state and local government? Would you say a LOT, a MODERATE amount, or PRACTICALLY NONE at all?**
   1( ) A LOT
   2( ) a MODERATE amount
   3( ) PRACTICALLY NONE
   4( )None at all *(only if volunteered)*
   5( ) DK
   6( ) Ref.

2. **How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Oregon to do what is right? Just about ALWAYS, MOST of the time, or only SOME of the time.**
   1( ) ALWAYS
   2( ) MOST of the time
   3( ) SOME of the time
   4( ) None of the time *(only if volunteered)*
   5( ) DK
   6( ) Ref.

3. **Generally, how good a job do you think Barbara Roberts is doing as Governor of Oregon? Would you say VERY good, GOOD, FAIR, or POOR?**
   1( ) VERY good
   2( ) GOOD
   3( ) FAIR
   4( ) POOR
   5( ) DK

4. **I am going to read two statements. As I read each one, please tell me if you AGREE strongly or somewhat, or DISAGREE strongly or somewhat with the statement.** *(Probe for opinion. Circle number that fits response. Circle DK only if volunteered.)*

	AGREE STRONGLY	AGREE Somewhat	DISAGREE Somewhat	DISAGREE STRONGLY	Don't Know
a. Public officials care very much about what people like me think.....	1	2	3	4	5
b. Sometimes politics and government seem too complicated for people to understand.....	1	2	3	4	5

These next questions are about the Governor's "Conversations with Oregon" that were transmitted at various locations around the State.

5. **First, have you heard or read anything about the Governor's "Conversations with Oregon?"** *(Because of your list, we do not expect you to receive a NO or DK, but it could happen. Ask Q. 6 anyway.)*
   1( ) No
   2( ) Don't remember
   3( ) YES

6. **Were you contacted last October or November and asked to attend one of the televised "Conversations" with Governor Roberts about the state finances?**
   1( ) No
   2( ) Don't remember
   3( ) Yes

7. **Did you attend a "Conversations" session?**
   1( ) No - *skip to Q.10*
   2( ) Don't remember - *skip to Q. 10*
   3( ) Yes - *ask* **Where was that "Conversation" session held?**

   _____ 88( ) Don't recall where
   (write in name of college or other bldg. AND town.)

   (Now ask Q. 8 & 9.)

8. *(ASK IF YES TO Q. 7)* **There were many components of the Governor's "Conversation with Oregon" session you attended. We would like to know what you thought about each one. As I ask you about each component, please tell me whether you thought it was EXCELLENT, SATISFACTORY, NEEDED IMPROVEMENT, or NOT HELPFUL.**

	Excellent	Satis.	Needed Improv.	Not Helpful	No Opn.
a. Time of meeting	1	2	3	4	5
b. Meeting place	1	2	3	4	5
c. The room arrangement	1	2	3	4	5
d. Instructions	1	2	3	4	5
e. Format of session - this means the topics, schedule, and organization	1	2	3	4	5
f. Ed-Net communication hook-up	1	2	3	4	5
g. The handout about where tax money comes from and where it goes	1	2	3	4	5
h. The list of government services	1	2	3	4	5
i. The way the group facilitator handled the discussion	1	2	3	4	5
j. Attitudes of other participants	1	2	3	4	5
k. Knowledge of other participants	1	2	3	4	5
l. Reporting from sites around the State on the telecommunication hook-up	1	2	3	4	5
m. The way the Governor responded to comments	1	2	3	4	5
n. The Governor's summary of what she heard during the session	1	2	3	4	5
o. Questionnaires you filled out at the end of the session	1	2	3	4	5

9. *(ASK IF YES TO Q. 7.)* **Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of these statements:** *(Probe for opinion. Circle number that fits response. Circle DK only if volunteered.)*

	AGREE		DISAGREE		Don't
	STRONGLY	Somewhat	Somewhat	STRONGLY	Know
a. Most people in my group already had their minds made up	1	2	3	4	5
b. A few people dominated the discussion	1	2	3	4	5
c. Everyone had a chance to contribute, and many did	1	2	3	4	5
d. People seemed to learn quite a bit from the Governor	1	2	3	4	5
e. People seemed to learn quite a bit from each other	1	2	3	4	5
f. People seemed to learn quite a bit from the written materials	1	2	3	4	5

10. I am going to read two more statements. As I read each one, please tell me if you AGREE strongly or somewhat, or DISAGREE strongly or somewhat, with the statement. *(Probe for opinion. Circle number that fits response. Circle DK only if volunteered.)*

	AGREE		DISAGREE		Don't
	STRONGLY	Somewhat	Somewhat	STRONGLY	Know
a. Based on what I know so far about the Ed-Net "Conversations with Oregon," I would say that they weren't perfect, but they offer some hope that citizens can have an influence on what the Governor and legislature do about taxes.....	1	2	3	4	5
b. The Governor's Ed-Net "Conversations with Oregon," was a waste of time.....	1	2	3	4	5

11. People have different opinions about the "Conversations with Oregon." Some people feel that the political leaders already know what they want to do and that the conversation was mostly a public relations effort. Others feel that the political leaders are really looking for ideas, and will use them to decide what to do. Which is closest to how *you* feel? *(Read options again if necessary. Check appropriate response. Do not read DK, or No Opinion as an option.)*

1( ) Political leaders already know what they want to do; the "conversations" are mostly a public relations effort.

2( ) The political leaders are really looking for ideas and will use them to decide what to do.

3( ) *(Don't read)* DK/NO Opinion

12. How would you rate the chances that the televised "Conversations with Oregon" will lead to greater EFFICIENCY in the way state government spends its money? Use a rating scale of zero to 10, with "10" being extremely likely and "0" being not likely at all. *(Circle rating given. Probe. Accept DK as a last resort.)*

Extremely likely< < < **10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0** > > Not likely at all DK

13. Using the same scale - zero to 10 - how would you rate the chances that the "Conversations with Oregon" will eventually lead to an IMPROVEMENT in Oregon's present tax structure? *(Circle rating given. Probe. Accept DK as a last resort.)*

Extremely likely< < < **10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0** > > Not likely at all DK

14. If someone arranged another teleconference dealing with an important State problem, would you want to participate?

1( ) Definitely YES
2( ) Probably
3( ) Probably Not
4( ) Definitely NOT
5( ) Don't know

Why (or why not)?

_____

15. How informed do you feel you are about state government and its budget? Would you describe yourself as being WELL informed, SOMEWHAT informed, or NOT VERY well informed?

1( ) WELL informed
2( ) SOMEWHAT informed
3( ) NOT VERY informed
4( ) DK

16. **In the past few months have you done any of the following:**

a. **Talked with people who live in your household about Measure 5, which is the property tax limitations passed by the voters in November of 1990?**

1( ) No
2( ) Yes - *then ask:* **Over the past few months, about how many conversations have you had about Measure 5 with people who live in your household - just a guess?**
1( ) One or two
2( ) 3 - 5
3( ) 6 - 10
4( ) More than 10
5( ) Don't know
3( ) Refused

b. **Have you talked with people *outside* your household about Measure 5?**

1( ) No
2( ) Yes - *then ask:* **Over the past few months, about how many conversations have you had about Measure 5 with people *outside* your household - just a guess?**
1( ) One or two
2( ) 3 - 5
3( ) 6 - 10
4( ) More than 10
5( ) Don't know
3( ) Refused

c. **Have you read articles or news items about Measure 5?**

1( ) No
2( ) Yes
3( ) Refused

d. **Have you written letters to public officials or to the media about Measure 5?**

1( ) No
2( ) Yes
3( ) Refused

e. **Have you attended a meeting where public finances and issues related to Measure 5 were discussed?** *(Interviewer: if your respondent was a Participant in a "Conversations" session, add the following phrase to the question)* **"...other than the "Conversations" session you attended?**

1( ) No
2( ) Yes- then ask: **Could you tell us what kind of meetings these were?**

_____

3( ) Refused

17. **About how much of the state government budget do you think will go to pay for the public schools when Measure 5 is fully phased in? Would you say about 25%, about 50%, or about 75%?**

1( ) 25%
2( ) 50%
3( ) 75%
4( ) DK

18. **Measure 5 shifts money from state services to public schools. There are several different approaches people have suggested as ways for dealing with this issue. I am going to mention some of these approaches. Which one approach, or combination of approaches, comes closest to how you feel? Please answer Yes or No for each one.** *(Read each one and secure an answer before continuing. Circle appropriate response. Respondent may answer "Yes" to more than one. Try not to be satisfied with DK.)*

	YES	NO	DK
a. Provide fewer government services	1	2	3
b. Increase government efficiency	1	2	3
c. Restructure Oregon's tax system to provide more money	1	2	3
d. Other approach? (specify)_____	1		

19. The way the tax system is now, could we use lottery money and highway funds to deal with Measure 5?

1( ) Yes
2( ) No 3( ) DK

20. If a vote on Measure 5 were held TODAY would you vote FOR or AGAINST it?

1( ) For
2( ) Against 3( ) DK

21-a. *(If interview conducted PRIOR to 6:00 pm, January 23, ask 21-a then skip to Q. 23.)*

Do you plan to listen to the Governor's "State of the State Address" on TV or radio?
(F.Y.I. *The Governor's address will be broadcast at 6:00 pm on Thursday , January 23rd.)*

1( ) Yes, DEFINITELY will listen
2( ) Yes - Probably will listen
3( ) Probably will NOT listen
4( ) DK/Not sure

21-b. *(If interview conducted AFTER 7:00 pm, January 23)* **Did you hear, or hear about, what the Governor said in her "State of the State Address" on TV or radio?**

1( ) Yes, watched or heard speech - *ask Q.22*
2( ) Yes, read/heard about it later - *ask Q.22*
3( ) Yes - BOTH of above - *ask Q.22*
4( ) No - *skip to Q. 23*
5( ) Don't recall - *skip to Q.23*

22. *(If interview conducted AFTER 7:00 pm, January 23)* **Based on what you know about the Governor's "State of the State Address", do you think her proposals are VERY consistent, Somewhat consistent, Somewhat inconsistent, or VERY inconsistent?** *(Probe for degree of opinion. Circle in appropriate column.)*

	VERY Consis.	Somewhat Consis.	Somewhat INconcis.	VERY INconcis	No Opn.
a. With what YOU think should be done about Measure 5?	1	2	3	4	5
b. Consistent with what the Governor heard at the "Conversations" session you attended?	1	2	3	4	5
c. Consistent with what most Oregonians want?	1	2	3	4	5

(Preamble to Q. 23. Read before asking Q. 23.)
Finally, I'd like to ask you a few questions about yourself so that we can tabulate results by different types of people in preparing a statistical report. All information is, of course, strictly confidential.

23. I'm going to read some broad age groups. Please stop me when I mention the group that includes your age at your last birthday.

1( ) 18 - 24
2( ) 25 - 34
3( ) 35 - 44
4( ) 45 -54
5( ) 55 - 64
6( ) 65 or over
7( ) Ref.

24. Do you rent or own your home?

1( ) Rent 2( ) Own 3( ) Other situation 4( ) Ref.

25. What is the highest level of school you have had the opportunity to complete?

1( ) K - 6 (elementary)
2( ) 7 - 12 (some H.S.)
3( ) 12 years (H.S. grad)
4( ) 13 - 15 (some college or post-high school training)
5( ) 16 Years (Bachelor's degree)
6( ) 17 or more (graduate school)
7( ) Ref

26. How long have you lived in Oregon? _____ years.

26-a. Have you lived in any other state for more than a year during your adult life?

1( ) Yes 2( ) No

27. Do you have any school age children - that is, children 5 through 18?

1( ) Yes
2( ) No

28. Are you currently employed full-time or part-time, going to school, a homemaker, retired - or what is your current situation?

1( ) Employed full time *(ask 28-a*
2( ) Employed part time *(ask 28-a*
3( ) Employed, but temporarily not working due to illness, vacation or strike *(ask 28-a)*
4( ) Unemployed, laid off, looking for work *(ask 28-a)*
5( ) Retired *(go to 29)*
6( ) Student in school or college *(go to 29)*
7( ) Homemaker *(go to 29)*
8( ) Other (specify) _____ *(go to 29)*
9( ) Ref. *(go to 29)*

28-a Do you work for a private business, a public employer, for a private, not for profit, organization, or do you run your own business? *(If respondent is looking for work, ask "Are you looking for work with....."*

1( ) Private business
2( ) Public employer
3( ) Private, non-profit
4( ) Run own business

29. I have some very broad income groups. When I come to the one that, according to your best estimate, represents your total household income before taxes, please stop me.

1( ) Under $20,000
2( ) $20,000 - $29,999
3( ) $30,000 - $39,999
4( ) $40,000 - $49,999
5( ) $50,000 - $74,999
6( ) $75,000 or over
7( ) Ref.

30. Incidentally, when you voted at the polls in November, 1990, did you vote for or against Measure 5?

1( ) For
2( ) Against
3( ) Didn't vote
4( ) Ref.

31. *(Interviewer: Record Gender)*

1( ) Male
2( ) Female

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR HELP. I REALLY APPRECIATE YOUR SHARING YOUR OPINIONS AND FEELINGS.

Validation Information

Validated By_____ **Date**_____ **Comments**

The University of Oregon ensures the right of all individuals to equal opportunity in education and employment in all programs sponsored by the university without regard to race, color, sex, national origin, age, religion, marital status, handicap, veteran status, sexual orientation, or any other extraneous consideration not directly and substantively related to merit or performance. In addition, the university subscribes to the fundamental importance of a multicultural and diverse work force and student body to the effective implementation of its mission. Therefore, the university will take additional steps to afford members of protected groups every reasonable opportunity to participate as employees and students in the university's programs. This policy will be applied in accordance with applicable federal and state laws, regulations, and executive orders.

Printed on recycled paper

Eugene, Oregon

ISBN 8-87114-179-5

92